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n. F. Buckley Jr. on
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NEUTRON BOMB
– SEE PAGE

NATIONAL REVIEW

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CATHOLICS AND
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FFREY HART

Wrong
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HUMPHREY-
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Who
Pays What?
SOME THOUGHTS
FOR

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For Ollie Robinson and 36 co-workers for the Housing Authority of Kansas City, Mo., the wheels of justice are rolling, but slowly.

Without the help of a national legal foundation they might not be rolling at all.

When Ollie Robinson first came to work for the Housing Authority in 1960, there was no union. Robinson voluntarily joined the union in 1966, when it came in, because he believed workers needed the protection of strong labor unions.

All new employees hired by the Housing Authority after July, 1966, for maintenance jobs were forced to join the union and pay dues to keep their jobs. "I didn't have any idea," says Robinson that "the requirement to join was illegal." He didn't know that Missouri state law prohibits public officials and unions from requiring public employees to join a union to work for their own government.

But one day Ollie Robinson and his co-workers started paying more attention to "their" union. Officials doubled their dues — without asking them.

Robinson and his co-workers tried to resign from the union but were told they couldn't. They had no money for a lawyer. Many were afraid of losing their jobs.

Finally, one of them contacted the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and the wheels of justice started moving. A law suit was filed. The Housing Authority quickly agreed to a consent decree — permanently preventing it from requiring employees to maintain union membership to keep their jobs.

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For more information on how you can help workers like Ollie Robinson write:

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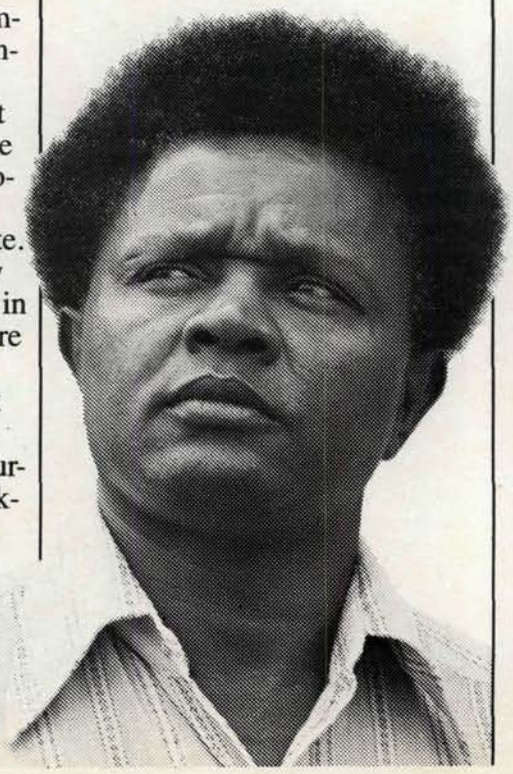

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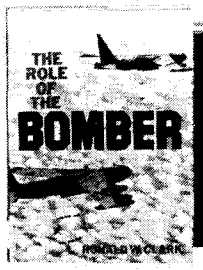

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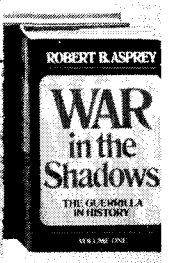

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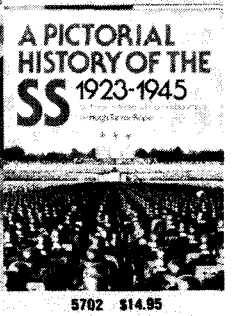

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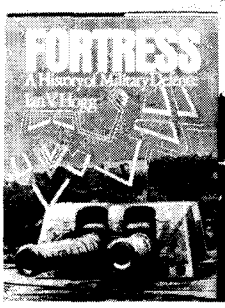

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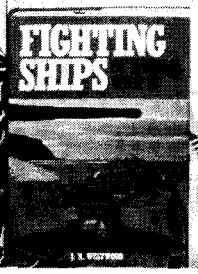

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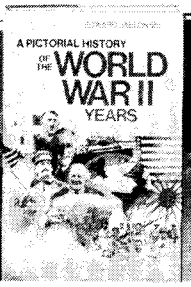

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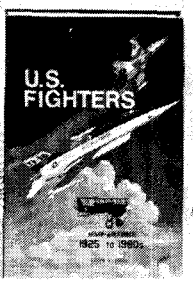

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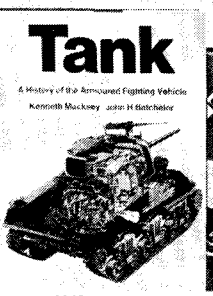

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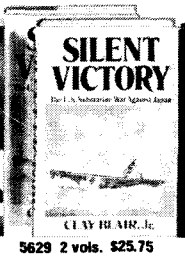

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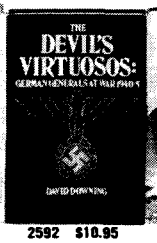

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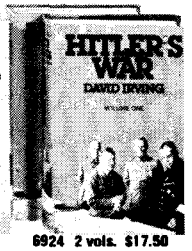

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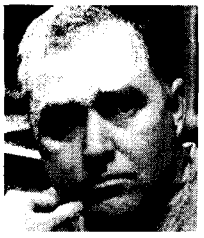

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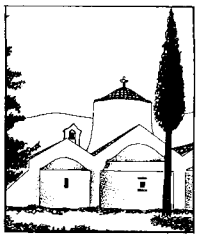

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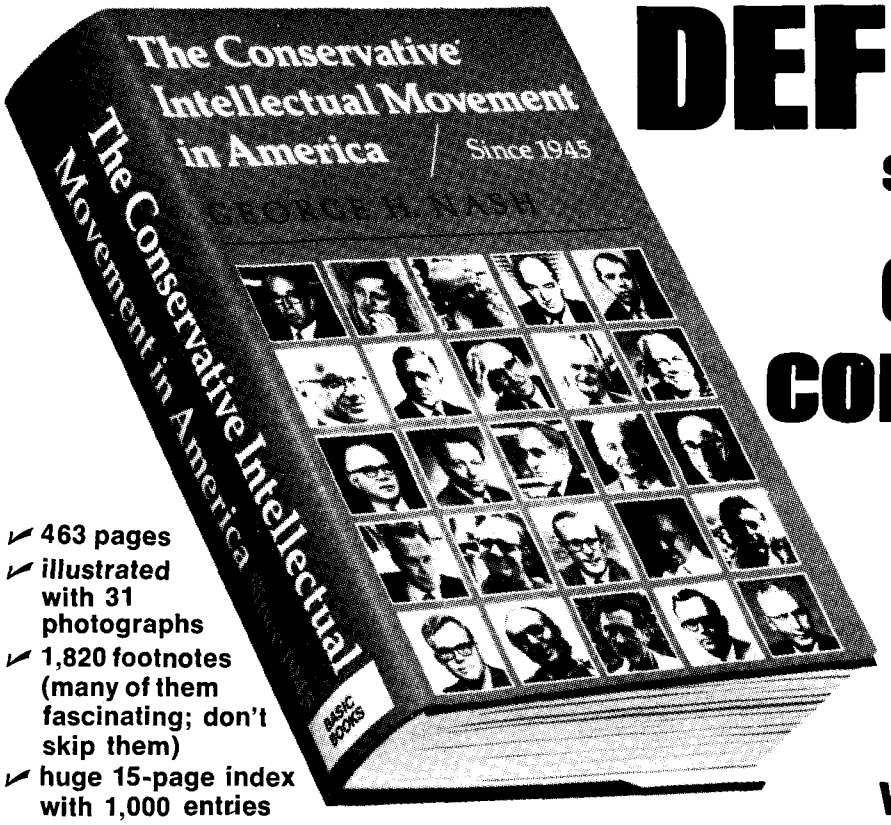
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Letters

The Right Direction

I was glad to see John Davenport's piece on Rhodesia and Ian Smith ["An American-Rhodesian Perspective," April 14]. Rhodesia's system has always seemed to me a very different case from South Africa's degrading, niggling apartheid (not that that's any excuse, by the way, for turning South Africa into a "liberated," socialist Azania). From everything I've read, it seems that neither Rhodesia nor Smith himself is "racialist" in any important sense. In other words, it seems that the white Rhodesians have denied black Rhodesians the vote not because of their blackness, but because their culture hasn't been suited to the practice of Western democracy—a condition, incidentally, which the whites' efforts at public education have been designed to change.

I wish them luck, and I thank you for printing Davenport's piece, at a time when public opinion is becoming alert enough to conditions in Rhodesia that it may do some good.

Buffalo, N.Y. JACK NORTON

Those who have attacked Ian Smith for his retaliation against the terrorists and their "front-line" hosts would do well to recall a French adage: "The animal is very vicious. When attacked, it has been known to defend itself."

Bloomington, Ind. PATRICK G. MOORE

The Freedom Radios

A few comments on Richard Brookhiser's article about Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty [March 17]:

First, there has never been a "specter of merger" with the Voice of America. As a member of the Eisenhower Commission with primary responsibility for drafting its Report, *The Right to Know*, I assure you we wanted to keep the "Freedom Radios" on a separate track from the Voice. They have different functions. Indeed, as I pointed out to the then-Director of VOA, if Brezhnev defected, the Voice would probably not carry the story for fear of undermining detente. I trust this is no longer true.

Second, what the Commission recommended—as Brookhiser notes—was joint use of Voice transmitters. Throughout my tenure on the Board for International Broadcasting (1974-77) I supported this vigorously, and I still do. There were some technical problems, but VOA's basic reaction was that their purity would be contaminated by letting us use their sticks. Moscow might retaliate by jamming their transmissions! When I pointed out that this might lead to an increase in their Russian audience, they were not amused.

Finally, Bukovsky and Navrozov's complaints about the RFE/RL policy manual are understandable but unfair. Fundamentally they want RL to start rebellions in the USSR. With the optimistic subjectivism characteristic of passionate exiles, they overestimate revolutionary potential and underestimate the murderous power of the regime. (Cf. Cuban exile assurances in 1961 that the moment the anti-Castro flag was raised at the Bay of Pigs, the people would launch a spontaneous revolution.) After all, everybody they knew was anti-Soviet—but they convened in Gulag.

Unless you are an advocate of vicarious martyrdom ("Go to it, lads—we'll watch from the bleachers"), the self-restraint enforced by the policy manual and, at long distance, by the Board for International Broadcasting is eminently sensible, if unheroic.

Medford, Mass. JOHN P. ROCHE

Footnote

Just in case your shortwave set was in the repair shop, I relate the following story: The Voice of America reported that a group of Russians have announced the formation of a workers' union separate from the Soviet government. The group claims to represent two hundred workers who were dismissed from their positions two years ago for protesting injustices and unsafe working conditions. The spokesman for the new union said the Soviet government has done nothing to help the workers.

Capitalist imperialist propaganda lies, right?

Cooper City, Fla. STEPHEN MALAGODI

Burnham on the Near East

Uncommon brilliance is a quality common in James Burnham's work, but his recent piece on the clash in the African Horn ["The Time of the Fox," March 17] displayed a degree of brilliance that was more uncommon than usual.

The knowledge of when *not* to take action is as vital to a strategist as is the knowledge of when *to* act, and Burnham drives home this point with indisputable logic framed in cogently concise English. Most journalistic pieces can be improved upon; this one could not.

La Puente, Calif. DONALD BRIDGES

In "A Separate Peace?" [Jan. 20], James Burnham asks where America's interest lies in the Middle East. He answers: "oil,"

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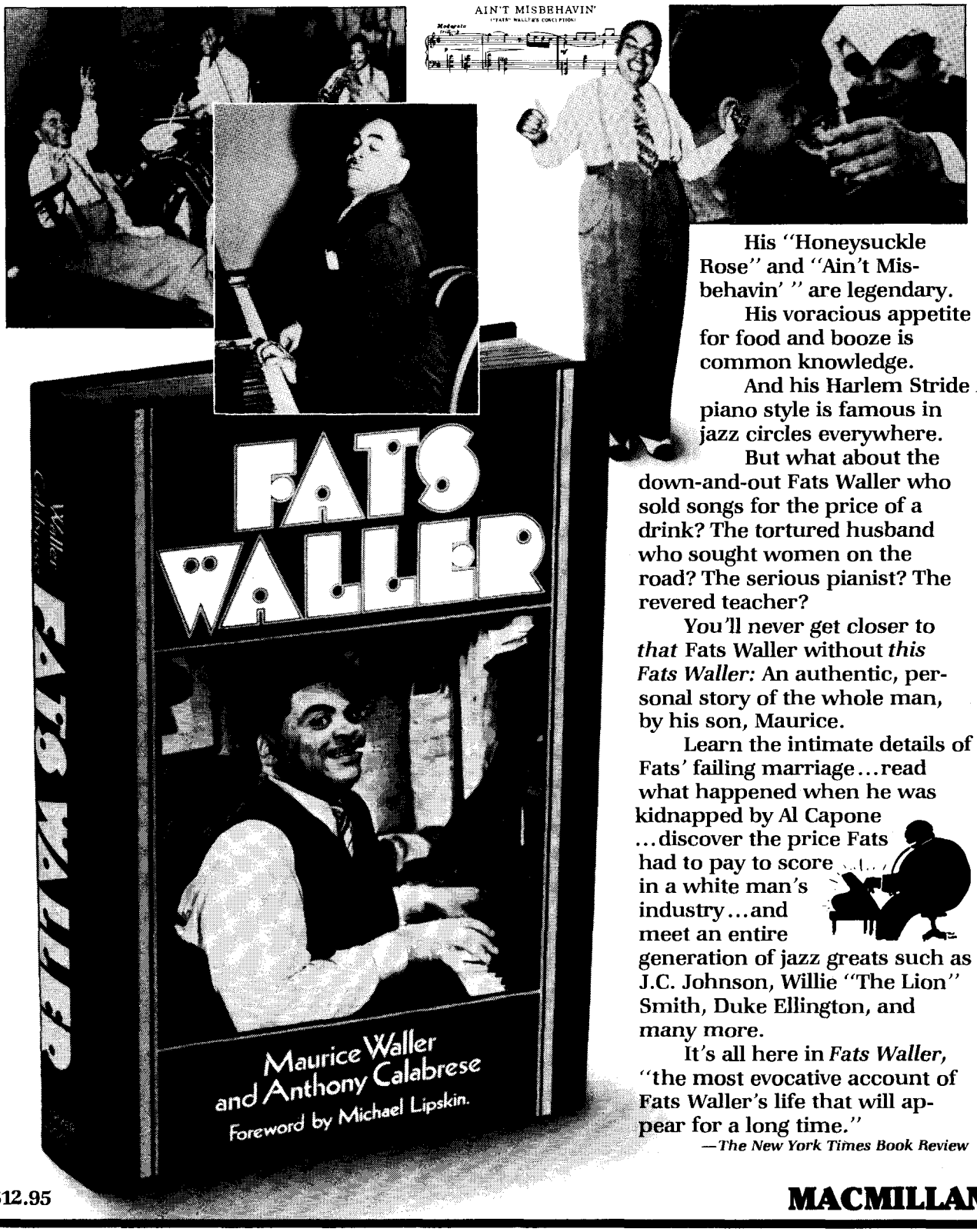
The flip side of Fats Waller.



His "Honeysuckle Rose" and "Ain't Misbehavin' " are legendary.

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and "resistance to the spread of Soviet power and influence."

Although these are important matters, the really transcendent interest of the United States and the world is in the prevention of war between the two superpowers. The establishment of peace between Israel and Egypt would mean the foreclosing of one area where they might be led to such a conflict.

Staten Island, N.Y. JOHN BRANIGAN

Reply to Bella

That startling item in *NR* ["The Week," March 3] about Ms. Bella Abzug's Communist past shows just how hypocritical the liberal media are in portraying "liberation" campaigns.

Look at those glowing accounts in the media about the liberation of women in the Communist countries—Cuba, for example, where women are *forced* to work on construction gangs and in sugar fields because of the extreme shortage of manpower (especially since Cuba has been sending troops and agents all over the world).

And so, to the feminist hard-liners and the fawning media, I'll say what every sensible American woman should say: *"I am a liberated woman because I am an American!"*

San Jose, Calif. ESTHER VERGANO

Onward from Lighght

Chilton Williamson's ironic lamentation ["The Great American Arts Debate," March 17] over the "politicizing" of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities is well taken. But is it not, perhaps, better to turn over those two agencies to political hacks who will dispense the public's money to earnest labor leaders who would like to write a poem rather than to leave it in the hands of the former satrapy?

Have we forgotten that lovely prize to the writer of a one-word poem, "Lighght"? Or that both Endowments have, under Republicans and Democrats alike, become the exclusive property of a literary and academic Establishment whose major interest in the nation's creativity has consisted in feathering its own nest?

My own experience with the NEA may be of small significance, but it can be multiplied a thousand times. At the suggestion of a member of the board, I wrote to the person he named, simply asking for advice on how to apply for a grant to complete a poem sequence. My letter remained unanswered, as of course it would. I am, after all, not an instructor in the use of the semicolon at West Overshoes University, and I have also written a few sharp words about the gods in Washington that never fail.

Perhaps under the hacks who will now control the official arts in these United

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States we will not see the emergence of another John Dos Passos. But they may be helpful in bringing about the production of a *Ballad of Bella Abzug* which will at least be a reflection of our times.
Washington, D.C. RALPH DE TOLEDANO

It's just great to know that President Carter conducts affairs of state to the strains of Wagner, Puccini, Rachmaninoff, etc. It sounds so, well, cultured. In fact, the President couldn't possibly *listen* to classical recordings eight to ten hours a day. The music is being used as a background, a thing of secondary significance.

I wonder if Vladimir Horowitz had a moment of horrid realization after he played at the White House.
Bradenton, Fla. MARJORIE S. BILLIA

Quibble

In medias res: "A delegate from Guam insisted upon speaking in Samoan," reads "Ladies' Day in Houston" [Dec. 23]. Where did she learn it? *Sa i manmauleg na tautau gi Guam ha-adingan i chamorro fino* [because the good people of Guam speak the Chamorro language].

Well, J. J. Kilpatrick is still my favorite writer.
Washington, D.C. Z. VIRAGH, MD

Chilean Notes

Jeffrey Hart's article on Chile ["Chilean Spring?" March 3] does much to redress the balance in the interest of accuracy. Critics of the present economic policy point out, however, that the burden of fighting inflation has fallen disproportionately on the poor in that country, and argue that what Chile needed was capitalism with a more human face.
Cambridge, Mass. MILES SCHWARTZ

It is interesting that Chicago-trained economists dominate the scene in Chile; during the 1960s, the economics departments of major universities carved up, as it were, the Third World. Harvard, for example, "has" Pakistan. The contrast may be instructive.
Salt Lake City, Utah JOHN FLYNN

It's so unpleasant to be enjoying an article and then, suddenly, to be slapped in the face by a silly remark, such as Jeffrey Hart's "the nonsense the Church keeps talking on birth control." Objective mortal sin, as taught by the Church, with regard to the artificial interference with the birth process, is never nonsense.

As the saying goes, Mr. Hart, "Even Homer nods." You wrote a fine article but you got carried away with yourself ("sweatily delighted"?) and said a silly thing. I've read a lot of your stuff and liked it but if you want to lose me as a reader, just let's have some more of your true "nonsense." Either stick to your knit-

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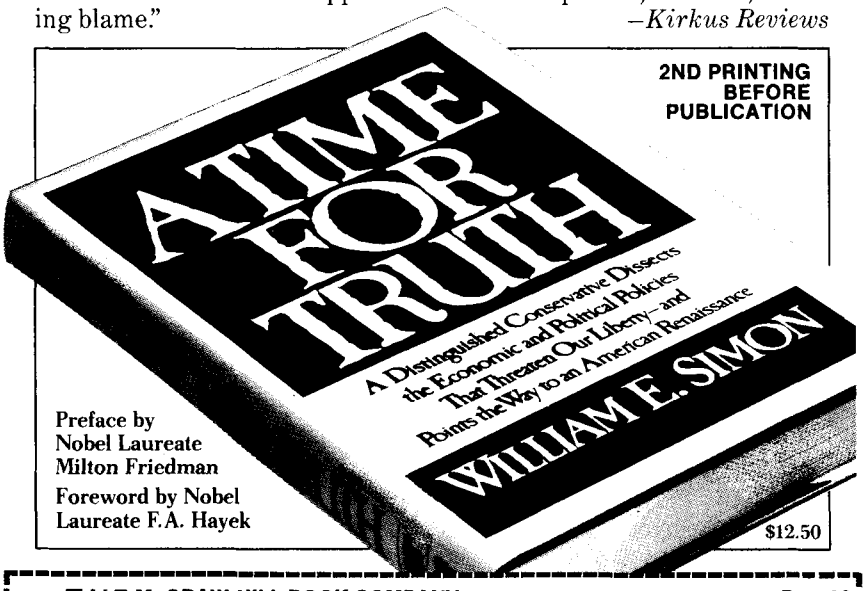
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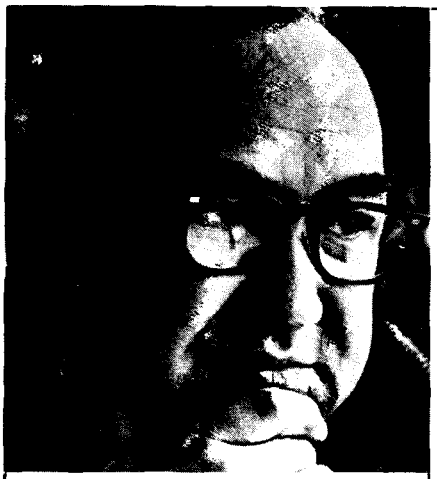

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ting on subjects you are proficient in, or read in depth (and in a prayerful spirit) the Church's doctrine on birth control.
Baltimore, Md. PHILIP J. LAVIN, C.SS.R.

Briefly, I would hate to "lose a reader," even if I am wrong about one thing or another. Still, a couple of observations. According to everything I have read, the official teaching has lost on this issue both statistically and philosophically. Statistically, American Catholics do not differ much from the rest of the population; they overwhelmingly ignore the teachings of Humanae Vitae. *Second, to engage the philosophical issue, the Church itself, through its espousal of the complex and cerebral "rhythm" method of birth control (even with the recent revisions based on the use of the fertility cycle), has been driving its own wedge between sex and reproduction. The kind of autonomy implied by all this may be troubling to some and problematic, but it seems to be the modern reality we must deal with.* —JH

Jeffrey Hart's "Chilean Spring?" is, so far as I know, the first acknowledgment in the press of the widely known fact that Santiago de Chile has the most beautiful women in the world. This is the most devastating weapon in the Chilean arsenal. If Pinochet wants to turn world opinion in favor of Chile, he should simply go out into the streets of Santiago, select a dozen women at random, and put them on a plane for the United Nations, with instructions to do nothing but stand around.

Once, many years ago, long before Frei or Allende or Pinochet, when I had occasion to spend several days in Chile, I went out pub-crawling with a friend. We left our last pub, a subterranean cocktail lounge, at about 3:00 A.M., and climbed a long stairway to the ground-level entrance.

Near the entrance, seated on a low, curb-like ledge, was a little girl about nine or ten years old. She was fast asleep, leaning against a stone pilaster. Before her on the floor was a cardboard tray of flowers. It was full. She had not sold a single flower all evening.

Here, again, comes the indescribable. Even at that age, and even though she was asleep, that child seemed to glow with the whatever-it-is of the Chilean woman. Malcolm and I, without even glancing at each other, emptied our pockets and put the contents into her tray.

It was not charity. It was an offering from two rather grubby males, who had sense enough to know that they were in the presence of something divine.
Clifton, Va. JOHN R. CASSIDY

Mind-Boggling

Regarding John Kreuttner's caption ["The Boggle," Cartoon Spread, Feb. 3], "How about COs just clamming up about their

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consciences, accepting military training, and, when in combat, aiming to miss?": An earlier generation thought of another solution.

Brigadier General S. L. A. Marshall and a group of 350 co-workers, investigating the European Theater of Operations in World War II, interrogated hundreds of outfits fresh out of battle and, on the basis of what they heard, "fixed the percentage of men who actually fired their rifles against the enemy at 12 to 25 per cent." That is, somewhere between one man in eight and one man in four did all the shooting which resulted in victory in 1944-45. This figure is confined entirely to combat soldiers who were armed and in a position to fire their weapons at the enemy.

The same is true even for elite forces—no more than 25 per cent of the best airborne troops actually fired their weapons at the Germans in Europe. In the early stages of the Korean War, the record was even worse.

Maspeth, N.Y. THOMAS J. SANCHEZ

From under the Rubble

Gerhart Niemeyer, in his review of *Kontinent 2* ["Voices from the Rubble," Jan. 20], speaks of a spiritual event of a most profound nature among Soviet prisoners. Theirs, he says, is "an artistic, intellectual, and spiritual outburst that has no equal in the world today . . . born of a new and powerful experience . . ."

He quotes from the article "Mystical Experiences in the Labor Camps" by Mihajlo Mihajlov, which comments on the amazing number of prisoners who have experienced "a strong and sustaining spiritual force." "For those," said Mihajlov, "who were prepared to sacrifice their body to save their soul, some kind of strange and mysterious law, eluding understanding, preserved them both." This is so akin to the spiritual experiences of contemplatives—and especially our Sisters of the Cross, among whom there has been much, much suffering—that I could not resist sending this letter.

Mr. Niemeyer's statement about the "breaking open of dry ground under the impact of the living experience of many men and women all driven to the edge of their humanity by the physical and mental tortures of a regime of calculating falsehood" applies to many people in our own country today—and many that I know in religion, which I believe to be the reason the Church is taking the direction it is. Niemeyer's quote from Silone—"The ultimate struggle will be between Communists and ex-Communists"—is doubtless true as far as it goes. But those of us who have experienced Ultimate Reality outside of prisons will also be among them, and bound to them "in Spirit and in Truth,"

Spokane, Wash. SISTER PATRICIA BOYD

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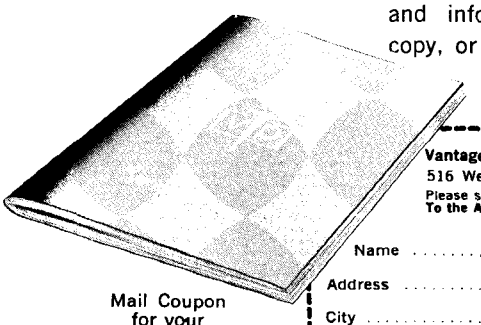

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Battle lines drawn on the **neutron bomb.** On the day following President **Carter**'s announcement that he would suspend production, lead editorials in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Baltimore Sun* urged him to reverse decision. . . . A *Times* story quoted a Carter "insider" as saying that Carter's decision left him "the worst of both worlds. He's still vulnerable to **Soviet propaganda** on the neutron bomb and to congressional critics that he's soft on defense.". . . Even Defense Secretary **Harold Brown** was faint in his support. The neutron warhead, he said, would be a useful addition to the U.S. arsenal but its absence "will not be crucial." . . . Sen. **Sam Nunn** (D., Ga.), who helped sell the neutron bomb to Congress last year at Carter's urging, asked: "Why should they [the Soviets] negotiate away a weapon they are willing to produce for one we don't have the courage to produce?" (Nunn, incidentally, was one of the final holdouts on the first **Panama** vote, flipping into the pro camp at Carter's urging.) . . . Also on their feet in the Senate opposing the move, Democrats **Henry Jackson** and **Patrick Moynihan**, and Republicans **Howard Baker** and **Dewey Bartlett**. . . . **Radio Peking** was distressed: Carter's backing away on the N-bomb, it said, was due to a successful Soviet propaganda campaign. . . . Which continues: The *Daily World*, the Communist Party paper in New York, has launched a **letter-writing campaign** to the White House urging Carter to ban the neutron bomb for good. A pre-prepared telegram the *World* suggests its readers clip out and send also urges Carter to "reach a SALT agreement as quickly as possible."

■ There's much speculation on the Hill about what Jimmy Carter meant when he told the **American Society of Newspaper Editors** that "I don't definitely plan to run for re-election." Did he mean that the time wasn't right to announce, or that he might, if it looks bad in the spring of 1980, pull a **Lyndon Johnson**? . . . **Evans & Novak** comment about Carter: "If Jimmy Carter has one real friend in Congress, he is unknown to us. If Jimmy Carter has one real friend of his own generation within his Administration . . . we do not know him." . . . On the plus side (very small plus), Carter's premier opponent, Gov. **Jerry Brown** of California, is not doing too well himself these days. In 1976, Californians picked Brown over Carter as their presidential favorite by 66 to 33 per cent; today that has slipped to 52 to 30 per cent.

Langdon, *Punch* Rothco

"And besides, sir, what sort of ransom could they expect from someone on a package tour?"

■ On the Republican side there is a distinct boomlet for **George Bush** in '80. Evans & Novak take Bush's presidential candidacy "seriously." . . . Republican Congressman **Pete McCloskey** says Bush is his choice. McCloskey, a liberal GOPer, likes Howard Baker but thinks "Bush can do the job the Republican Party needs, which is to attract young people into the party.". . . On the senatorial level, Rep. **Jack Kemp** (R., N.Y.)—described by **William Safire** as "the hottest new conservative face on the state convention circuit"—says he will campaign all out for **Jeff Bell**, who is challenging liberal Republican Sen. **Clifford Case** in the New Jersey primary.

■ Upcoming seminars and conferences for conservatives. The **National Conservative Political Action Committee** will be running four more seminars on political campaign techniques: San Francisco, April 27-29; Atlanta, May 11-13; Denver, June 8-10; Boston, July 6-8. Write NCPAC (1500 Wilson Blvd., Suite 513, Arlington, Va. 22209) for further info. . . . June 11-17, Grove City College (Grove City, Pa. 16127) will hold its second annual **Institute of Public Policy and Private Enterprise** (write Dr. John A. Sparks). . . . And the Sixth Annual Hillsdale College **Summer Institute in Political Economics** will be at Hillsdale (Dr. John Trivoli, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 49242) July 23-29. . . . Out in California, **Lyn Nofziger**, of **Reagan**'s Citizens for the Republic, has done his homework on spending in congressional campaigns, and he finds, contrary to prevailing opinion, that Democrats outspent Republicans in the 1976 House races by $4 million—not including the extra aid Democrats got from big labor in "volunteer" services.

■ Is a man's home always his castle? No, ruled the Michigan Court of Appeals the other day, to plea of convict **John Alexander** that, since his prison was his home, he had every right to conceal a weapon (pistol) in his cell. The guards were not amused.

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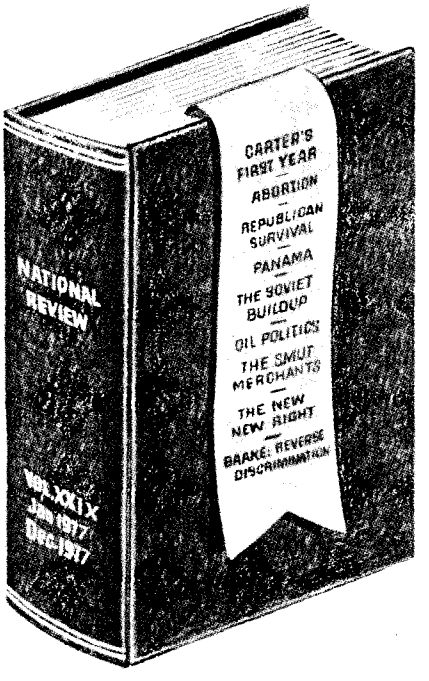

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THE WEEK

■ Idi Amin says he will always regard Americans as his friends. *Now* will you stop worrying about the decline of American prestige abroad?

■ Has the Supreme Court been listening to Raoul Berger? Deciding two cases last week, the Court employed Bergeresque language to invalidate court-ordered obstacles to nuclear plant construction. Lower-court judges had overruled Nuclear Regulatory Commission decisions to grant licenses for plants in Vermont and Michigan, citing objections by environmental groups. ". . . Congress has made a choice to at least try nuclear energy," wrote Justice William Rehnquist for the Court, "establishing a reasonable review process in which courts are to play only a limited role."

■ Columnist Jack Anderson revved up his populist engines recently to challenge the "nuclear establishment." In a column April 9 he touted a House subcommittee report which criticized nuclear energy for its expense and risk. What Anderson forgot to mention was how that report was prepared, a lapse in memory which Representative Thomas N. Kindness (R., Ohio), a member of that same Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources, has compensated for. Kindness says it was a one-party (Democratic) operation all the way. The subcommittee called 36 anti-nuclear witnesses, but only six who were pro-nuclear. The majority staff took four months to complete the report, but never included the minority in the discussion. Finally, the minority was given three days to survey a lengthy draft before it came up for a vote. It found over a hundred factual errors in the draft. So much for authoritative subcommittee reports.

■ One of the best-documented correlations in the field of public policy is that between socialized medicine and a decline in the quality of medical care. The idea has been tried in dozens of countries and has never worked. No matter. It's good for votes, and that's the game in government. So Senator Kennedy and Mr. Carter and George Meany of the AFL-CIO and Douglas Fraser of the UAW met at the White House and agreed on the general outlines of the kind of medical scheme that has failed every time it has been tried. Conspicuously absent from the conspiracy: anyone with any knowledge of the subject. Forecast: disaster.

■ Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has a sharp essay on "welfare reform" in the current issue of the *Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies*. He acknowledges that the present welfare system does not rest on a comprehensible set of ideas. He describes a "welfare constituency" that lobbies powerfully and successfully in Congress against any meaningful reform of the system: "For all the lobbyists seemed to care, the entire city [NYC] could burn down or be abandoned, so long as the Congress did not take a single step to revise the welfare system in directions that clashed with their sense of values." He complains that HEW is running a massive coverup, that no definitive information ever is available from HEW these days, and that "clearly the profession has become fearful of what research will find." He notes that the real income of welfare recipients has grown faster than that of factory workers since 1967. He supports the idea that people who can work should work. He deplores the way welfare payments tend to disrupt families. "We must face the dismaying possibility," he writes, "that the professional constituency that purports to look after the interests of welfare recipients is more determined and more effective than any that look after the interests of the farmers and factory workers and others whose taxes pay for public welfare programs."

■ New York's Governor Carey seems intent on showing that Mr. Carter is not the only practitioner of government by epilepsy (period of inertness interrupted by fits of violent movement accompanied by clouded consciousness). A bit of history: back in 1971 the riot in the Attica prison resulted in 43 deaths. A commission investigated charges of wanton violence on the part of the police, the prisoners, or both. Late in 1975 one Jomo Davis (as he is now known), who had been indicted for murder in connection with the riot, plea-bargained his way to a lesser charge and was shipped to Virginia to serve out a term for robbery. In mid-1976 Virginia paroled him. By year-end the special prosecutor, reporting to Governor Carey, called for the prosecution or chastisement of several inmates and about twenty policemen. Carey decided to "pardon" the whole lot, including Jomo Davis, the one character whom the special prosecutor excluded from any thought of leniency. On April 2 Mr. Davis got into a gunfight that resulted in the death of two policemen.

Ain't Gwine Study War

If Jimmy lived in olden times
  On mammoth meat and marrow,
I have no doubt he'd raise a stink
  To ban the bow and arrow.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Potpourri week: Although they tend to spend like there's no tomorrow once they make it into the White House, Republicans still think of inflation as their very own issue, and inflation was the subject for a gaggle of would-be GOP presidential nominees at the series of dinners last week honoring the 25th anniversary of the inauguration of Dwight Eisenhower. John Connally and Gerald Ford both did their thing on closed-circuit TV, with Ford edging ever closer to an announcement of his candidacy. But the only speaker to bring the Republican faithful to their feet was Ronald Reagan, who told a crowd at Chicago's Palmer House that the Carter Administration was, among other things, deficient in developing an energy policy; it was weakening our national defense; debasing the dollar; and driving us toward double-digit inflation. Said Reagan: "Pretty soon it will be cheaper to eat money than to buy food with it."

■ Also talking up inflation in Illinois is quadrennial near-candidate Charles Percy, who was asked last week if he might try another almost-campaign in 1980. Said Percy: "Everyone ought to take a new look at it [the presidential situation] after the 1978 elections and see where we stand for 1980. I don't see any decision as being irrevocable." Which means, in Percyish politicalese, that he's thinking about thinking about trying again.

■ Also eloquent on the subject of inflation was columnist Patrick Buchanan, who had this to say about Carterite economic policies: "The United States economy is already pregnant with inflation, and the best Carter's counselors can do now is to avert his being publicly named in the paternity suit." But no presidential PR campaign will be sufficient, says Buchanan, for there is one unavoidable problem: "The seeds of inflation have already been sown, and little Johnny Appleseed is sitting in the Oval Office."

■ The *National Journal* reports that the way in which New York City subsidizes its Yankee Stadium has aroused the ire of Senator William Proxmire, who calls the city's contract with its baseball team for the use of Yankee Stadium a "knucklehead ripoff." Proxmire, speaking against any further handouts to New York when its federal loans expire on June 30, is especially annoyed that the contract makes the Yankees sufficiently rich "to take the best players away from the rest of us." Added Proxmire: "To be a party through New York City's dimwitted contract to making the Yankees richer still . . . no red-blooded baseball fan outside New York itself will ever permit."

■ Department of Bloat: A silver celebration was held very quietly at HEW, which was born on April 11, 1953, when Dwight Eisenhower named Oveta Culp Hobby its first secretary. In FY 1954, HEW's first budget was 8 per cent of the total, $71-billion federal budget; as its 25th birthday present, President Carter is proposing that its share of his half-trillion-dollar budget be increased to 36 per cent. Some say, of course, that HEW simply can't handle a $184-billion budget, as witness Secretary Califano's recent announcement that he and his minions have misplaced about $7 billion from last year's budget—a couple of billion more, in other words, than HEW's total natal budget.

■ Joseph Califano, when not misplacing a few billion or so of our money, likes to worry aloud about what will happen when all that federal funny money gets tight. Just now the concern is the Social Security system. Califano fears that in the twenty-first century there will be a "senior boom," as he puts it. One solution he is currently proposing is to tax Social Security benefits. Another is to do away with early retirement and boost the retirement age, thereby ensuring that more of those "seniors" die in the harness before they can get their hands on any of that federal money.

■ Perhaps the last and certainly the best book coming out of what George Will calls the Nixon Administration's "literary movement" will be published this fall by Doubleday. The book, by John Coyne, a former bright young man who worked for two Presidents and two Vice Presidents in the course of a year, is entitled *Fall In and Cheer*. Mr. Coyne, contacted at his Maryland home late on Saturday night, seemed somewhat less than coherent, apparently distracted by a profound conversation with someone he referred to as "Jack Daniels." He did manage to identify the source of his title, however. It was the American journalist Edgar Watson Howe, who wrote the following paragraph: "That the politicians are permitted to carry on the same old type of disgraceful campaign from year to year is as insulting to the people as would be a gang of thieves coming back to a town they had robbed, staging a parade, and inviting citizens to fall in and cheer." —CATO

Governor Carey, under questioning, defended his pardon of Davis on the grounds that the special prosecutor had recommended it. (Outright lie.) On April 11 Governor Carey vetoed a bill to reintroduce the death penalty. He has other ideas for protecting people against crime, but he hasn't told us what they are. He has a secret.

■ A few months ago, Congressman Frederick Richmond (D., N.Y.) was in Cuba on a mission of understanding and all that, when an American political prisoner, Frank Emmick, was haled up to show how humane Cuban prison life is. To the chagrin of guest and host alike, Emmick had a heart attack, and Richmond found himself obliged to ask for his release. Emmick, home after nearly 15 years in confinement, began speaking publicly about how wretched Cuban prison life really is: he had had two previous heart attacks, after one of which his captors had moved him upstairs, in the hope that the daily climbs would eventually finish him off; he had been stripped and kept in a refrigerated room; etc. Richmond, mortified and angered for Fidel, called Emmick to counsel him, "Keep your mouth shut." A few days ago, Richmond was arrested in Washington for trying to bribe a man and a

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boy of 16 to have homosexual relations with him. He admitted his guilt, got off with a mere requirement to have psychiatric counseling, and appealed to his constituents for "compassion and understanding." Twenty New York congressmen rallied round the man they called "one of the most effective and hard-working members of Congress." The boy seems to have elicited about as much sympathy as Emmick.

■ In Paris, 130 years ago this spring, riots touched off a series of uprisings across Europe. In March the revolution reached Bohemia; in April a liberal government came to power in Hungary; in June a congress of Czechs, Poles, Croats, Serbs, and Slovaks convened in Prague. There was street-fighting in Berlin, and the King of Saxony was forced to flee Dresden. Though many of the rebellions were tainted with chauvinism or socialism, most of their goals were ones a reasonable modern man might approve of—food for the peasants, who had been starving for a decade; less censorship; political freedom, as practiced in England, or America. Since then, fortunately, mankind has progressed, the tyrants' thrones have crumbled, and everybody in Eastern Europe is free and happy. *Zdorovye!*

■ The kidnapping of Italian politician Aldo Moro has become Kafkaesque, except that this lunacy belongs, not to the bureaucracy, but to the terrorist Red Brigades. Since March 16 the Brigades have been conducting themselves like a sovereign nation. Moro, they announce, is being held for a "people's trial," based on "proletarian justice." Every week or so, bulky envelopes entitled "communiqués" arrive, with apparent impunity, at newspaper offices in Rome, Turin, Genoa, and Milan. The wretched victim is made to plead for an exchange of "prisoners," as between peers. Meanwhile, the Brigades continue their almost ritualized mayhem, stopping random opponents in the streets and shooting them in the legs or hands. One little noted aspect of the situation is that, when the revolutionaries are captured, their weapons invariably turn out to be Czech. The Czech connection would seem to belie the support now being expressed for Moro by the Italian Communist Party. It fits, indeed, with Communist strategy throughout Western Europe—to foment domestic chaos, while at the same time offering themselves as a bulwark against it.

■ The Russians may never drop the big one, concludes the Brookings Institution—they won't need to. Soviet air power in the Sixties, according to Brookings associate Ronald Berman, was primarily defensive. Since then, the Russians have branched out. With new hardware—MiG-27 Floggers, SU-19 Fencers (ground-attack planes), MI-24 Hinds (attack helicopters), and YAK-36 Forgers (vertical takeoff aircraft, for use on carriers)—they are now capable of "devastating" attacks on NATO air bases and nuclear storage areas. "Today the Russians, armed for the first time to fight a modern non-nuclear war, would not be compelled to immediately escalate to nuclear war."

■ The *Trib*, New York City's newest daily newspaper, is now among its most recent casualties. It expired April 5. Throughout its 62 issues, the *Trib* injected into New York's competitive newspaper trade some civic boosterism, a fresh magazine-style design, and a much-needed jolt of editorial conservatism. Sadly, it inspired neither readers nor retail advertisement to enter its pages. It was a noble experiment, whose entrepreneurs deserve an ungrateful public's gratitude.

■ A little publicity for the following story could probably do more to arrest drug abuse than the present horrendously expensive federal program. Two armed gunmen held up a funeral home in Harrisburg, Pa., making off with three pints of embalming fluid worth all of $12. Which is not as crazy as you think: it turns out that parsley, properly embalmed, can be passed off as marijuana and sold for $40 or so an ounce.

■ New Jersey's Public Health Council has voted to prohibit smoking in all public indoor places, unless the management sets aside 25 per cent of the area for nonsmokers, builds a 54-inch wall between the two areas, provides a four-foot buffer zone, changes the air every ten minutes, and holds the carbon monoxide gain to no more than 9 parts per million. Violators will be sentenced to go outside and breathe a few gulps of that good Jersey air.

■ Make that the Hollywood Eleven. With a single phrase Vanessa Redgrave has once more convinced the film

Neutron Diplomacy

What's to be done? We've two more years to go.
Is he incompetent or just inept?
In Brussels, Haig is getting vertigo,
While back in Bonn it's rumored grown men wept.
His yo-yo ways get harder to accept—
Especially if you're a Tip O'Neill;
And all those "average folks" with whom he's slept
Begin to wonder if the man's for real.
Alas for all of us, there's no appeal:
No vote of confidence to turn him out.
As Africa becomes a black Bastille,
Our situation borders on a rout.
As Jimmy sheaths his terrible, swift sword,
I'm truly hankering for Jerry Ford.

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industry that there is *too* a Red Menace. Paddy Chayevsky has even called her a "Bolshevik," no compliment intended. Hell, we've known she was a Bolshy—Trotskyist Division—for 15 years. For that matter, we knew *Hearts and Minds*, another recent Oscar-winner, was a piece of pinko propaganda, just like most of the stuff Marlon and Jane show up in. The difference being that these types had the good sense not to apply their principles explicitly to Israel. That's why they're just plain old progressives.

■ HOW THE MIGHTY HAVE . . . "Paris, April 12 (APF) —French pickpockets have turned their attention from *les touristes américains* to *les touristes japonais*, *les pique-poquetteurs* (*'Faginistes*'?) having ascertained that the Japanese yen brings in more than the Yankee dollar on exchange markets."

Our Worst President?

In a ground-level corner of the University of London, the eighteenth century philosopher Jeremy Bentham sits in a glass booth, stuffed. Politically, Jimmy Carter is beginning to bear a striking resemblance to the Bentham mummy. There are those, and their number is increasing, who are beginning to think that Jimmy Carter may be the most inadequate President in U.S. history.

One reflection of the situation is Carter's steady downward progress in the polls. The most recent NBC News poll, for example, showed a 33 per cent approval rating for Carter, and a really spectacular 64 per cent negative view. Such figures resemble Nixon's at the height of the Watergate furor. Nor does Carter appear to be "bottoming out." As John Milton wrote: "And in the lowest deep, a lower deep/Still threatening to devour me opens wide."

Probably nothing can now repair the damage Carter sustained in his handling of the neutron bomb decision. Leaders of the principal NATO countries were said to be flabbergasted and outraged. One can easily imagine the disbelief of Soviet strategic planners. This may represent the worst decision by a U.S. President since World War II.

Almost all of Carter's policies, domestic and foreign, are in trouble. In Rhodesia, he and Andy Young have virtually guaranteed civil war and have seriously undercut moderate and democratic leaders. The Administration has purred at Castro, despite Cuban imperialism. Reportedly, Carter plans to dump Taiwan. He addresses Third World tyrants in language that would be hyperbolic if addressed to James Madison.

Domestically, Carter has been too weak politically to resist demands that have led to huge projected budget deficits. On present form, he very likely would achieve an inflation rate up in the double digits by 1980. Numerous Carter initiatives—welfare reform, election reform, tax reform, energy—seem to be going nowhere. In the national political community, and in the councils of the NATO nations, Carter has begun to be an object of derision, a skillful and opportunistic campaigner who has no real grasp of the issues.

Attempting to face his mounting problem with inflation, and a mood of deepening economic pessimism in the nation, Carter went on nationwide TV on April 11 with a major address concerning inflation. He made a number of specific proposals: limited pay increases for 3.5 million federal workers, a veto of legislation that increases the projected deficit, the designation of Robert Strauss as the President's spokesman on wage-price restraint. With these and other proposals in the speech, Carter risks alienating labor, the farmers, the environmentalists, and the multiplicity of groups who want more, not less federal spending. He can gain politically if his measures succeed in slowing the rate of inflation. To an important degree, he is betting his political future on the belief that they will be effective, and that he will have the political clout to sustain his vetoes of budget-busting spending legislation.

Jimmy Carter, at this point, must be classified as a failure. Failures, as President of the United States, should have served in an earlier century.

The 'Linkage' Season

In spring, a young man's fancy lightly, ever so lightly, turns to thoughts of—"linkage." (No Freudian quips.) And to linkage turned President James Carter when he announced suspension of the neutron artillery program pending evidence of some unspecified Russian arms restraint. In this manner, said others in the Administration (not to mention Senator Percy), the neutron option becomes a valuable "bargaining chip." But does it? Not to judge by the angry Soviet response to this "maneuver," which Chairman Brezhnev condemned as a "tendency . . . to link in some way the advance at the [SALT] talks . . . with other political problems in the hope of bringing pressure on the Soviet Union." What the USSR offers is agreement not to produce something they are unprepared to produce in exchange for our agreement not to produce what we are prepared to produce.

"Pressure" is fine when it's effective. Unspecific, vacuous talk, unarmed by effective leverage, is self-defeating because it telegraphs a punch that isn't there. Only a few days earlier in Winston-Salem, Mr. Carter spoke of Soviet force increases, "beyond the level necessary for defense," its "ominous inclination . . . to intervene in local conflicts, . . . [and its] encouragement for mercenaries . . . as we observe today in Africa." Had Mr. Carter understood his words he would have known that the thing to do was

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to proceed with the neutron option to underline the warning he had already given—then wait to let the Russians think up a way privately to suggest a bargaining linkage. If the linkage value is real, the Soviets would think of it. *Lesson No. 1*: Linkage bargaining is a two-handed game —not a unilateral confessional. Having told the other fellow what we don't like, we should put some teeth in what we said and then wait. It's *his* move. Let him make it.

The Soviets have never budged to weaken their hermetical seal against all verification by inspection, knowing full well that secrecy is their "equalizer" against our constantly reborn technological lead. For us to suspend development of a weapon of such potency as the neutron shell while the USSR catches up is to surrender our own natural strength while they retain the advantage of their seal. *Lesson No. 2*: In applying linkage, enlightened self-interest requires a power not to give up its own peculiar built-in strength except in exchange for a matching reciprocal concession—in this case, inspection.

But if some linkages sprout in spring, the gnarled, suffocating stalks of old linkages must be uprooted—like the arms embargo imposed on Turkey pursuant to Congress' linkage of U.S. arms and Turkey's use of them in Cyprus in 1974. Far from compelling Turkish tractability on Cyprus, this linkage reinforced their nationalistic refusal to bend under pressure. Secretary Vance has reported (but wisely avoided pressing) violation of a similar linkage by Israel in using American cluster bombs in Lebanon. The wisdom of not enforcing a rigid linkage to the detriment of overriding U.S. objectives is obvious, and one hopes it will rub off on Congress' handling of the Turkish case where our stake includes not only 21 bases, inoperative since 1974, but the whole southeastern flank of NATO, not to mention an indispensable land insulator between the USSR and the Arab-Israeli arena. *Lesson No. 3*: There must be a balance between the objective sought and the risk undertaken to make a linkage rational—else we cut off our own nose, etc.

Linkages proliferate in American policy like a host of daffodils. Remember the linkage of U.S. credits and most-favored-nation treatment on the one hand to Soviet Jewish emigration policy on the other, which brought Soviet rejection of our terms, not capitulation to our demanded concession? Remember the linkage of U.S. assistance to our unilateral judgment of human rights conditions, which brought nationalistic rejections from Brazil and other Latin countries? *Lesson No. 4*: Linkage in world politics cannot be applied like federal-state grants at home, where Mama Washington doles out the dough if the states run their affairs as they are told.

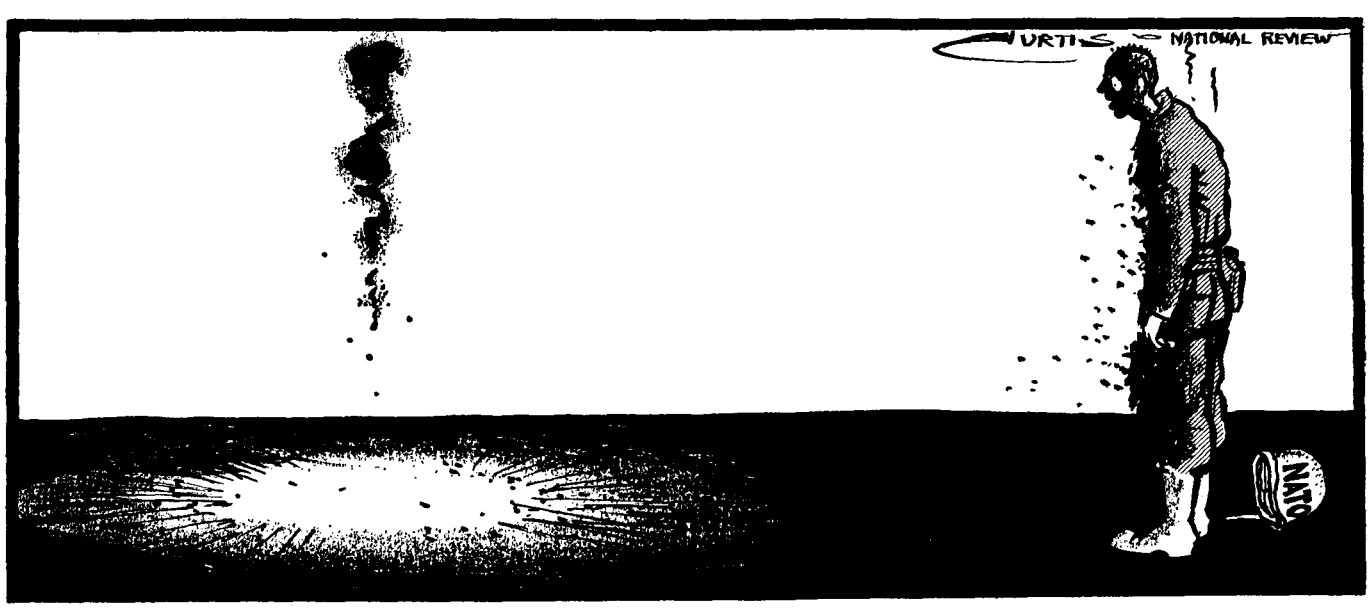
Ignoring Inflation

President Carter has developed an amazing ability to sink both the dollar and the stock market by simply opening his mouth. The latest statement on inflation is no exception, proving once again that it is better to be suspected of ignorance than to say things that confirm the suspicion.

"It is a myth," said the President, "that the government itself can stop inflation." Inflation is instead blamed on "unpleasant facts about ourselves"—namely, a "preoccupation with self" that cripples the willingness of Americans "to sacrifice for the common good." Yet Carter promises that "no one would suffer" from his proposed sacrifices.

Carter views all wages and prices as set by deliberate decision, rather than by market forces. He therefore "expects" wages and prices to be kept below the average increases of the past two years. He will be deeply disappointed.

Carter asks workers to accept a lower rate of wage



Carter Drops Neutron Bomb

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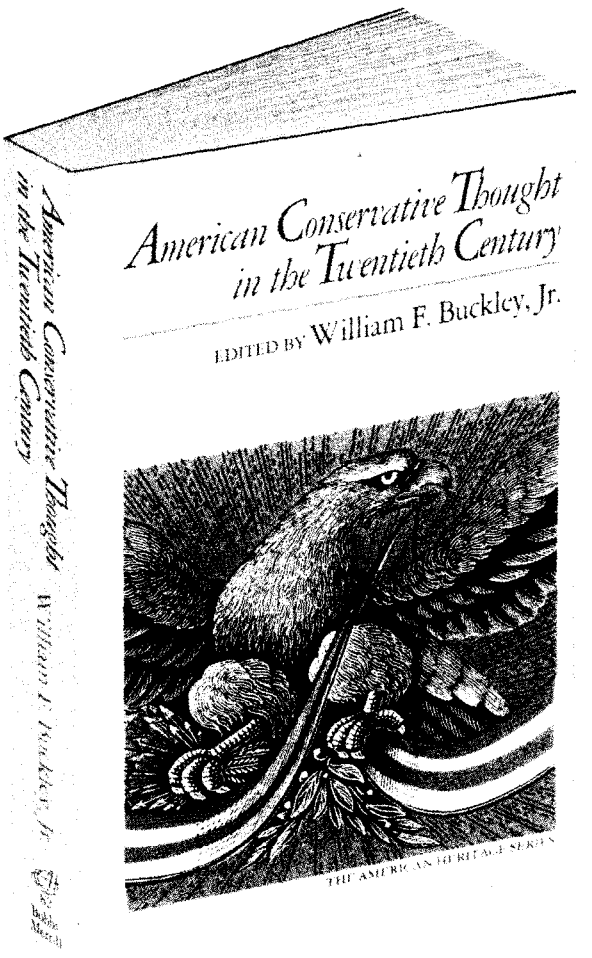

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increase because they too "have a right to expect" a comparable slowdown in prices; but expectations are based on experience, and cannot be conferred as a right by presidential decree. Similarly, the claim that "the American people will expect" a freeze on the pay of business executives is populist nonsense. The implied cut in real pay would just force talented people to get their increases by changing jobs.

Carter recognizes that wage and price controls would be "ill-advised and counterproductive." Yet he proposes price controls for hospitals, and talks ominously about "a special progam to deal with individual sectors."

The official myth continues that the fall of the dollar is due to oil imports, rather than to an excess supply of dollars. And the idea that the falling dollar causes inflation, rather than the other way around, is also conveniently exploited. Remarkably, the President at no time mentioned the root of inflation—the money supply.

There was some soft talk about restraining government spending and reducing the budget deficit "beyond 1979." But the specifics only involved possible limits on further increases in an already unbearable budget.

The President had one last opportunity to make some belated reversals in his inflationary plans and policies. He instead chose to blame the problem on the private sector's efforts to protect itself. It was drab politics and disastrous economics.

No Rest for the Innocent

"We are not devoted to merely confirming your fine liberal convictions," says a subscription ad on the back cover of *The Nation*. "Although the Corporate right-wing is our most frequent target, we do not view any segment of the Left as divinely infallible."

Which comes as a relief, since *The Nation* gives the impression that Alger Hiss was at the very least conceived without sin. The magazine's attachment to him since its Stalinoid days has been remarkable: first, in that its onetime editor, Frieda Kirchwey, was personally active with Hiss's legal defense team; second, in that, as Allen Weinstein points out, it has devoted two dozen subsequent articles (including two whole issues) to vindicating Hiss; and third, in that its general principles would surely make it the *least* indignant magazine in America if Weinstein were to come up with a photo of Hiss kissing Stalin in Red Square. (Indeed it would probably argue interminably that the picture had been retouched.)

In a nine-page attack on Weinstein's *Perjury*, editor Victor Navasky contends that Weinstein distorted information from interviews with at least six sources. How does Navasky know? Why, they *told* him. He did not even bother to ask Weinstein for a look at transcripts of the interviews, or for a hearing of those that were taped. Moreover, reports *Newsweek*'s David Gelman, Navasky "appears to be using his own material selectively. While Winter [Ella Winter, former wife of Lincoln Steffens] doesn't directly 'corroborate' Chambers' underground role, the full text of her letter backs up Weinstein's account . . ." Navasky deplores Weinstein's "conversion from scholar to partisan," and attacks him for giving Chambers "a perhaps undeserved credibility," while assuming the veracity of six highly partisan accounts he solicited. Yet even Navasky stops short of affirming Hiss's innocence: he merely contends that Weinstein hasn't proved guilt. The whole piece amounts to a blustering retreat. And it has served, like Hiss's dogged lies, to deter the uninformed from embracing Weinstein's conclusions. A good opposition knows what can be salvaged even in defeat.

If the hard Left is predictably ferocious, the soft democratic Left has been predictably squeamish. Sadly typical is Irving Howe in the *New York Times Book Review*. Howe quickly and daintily concedes that *Perjury* looks pretty convincing, but also refuses to commit himself, beyond a lot of plague-on-both-your-houses denunciations of political zealotry in general. Especially vigorous kicks, here, for Chambers: "a raging anti-Communist . . . wantonly apocalyptic, contemptuous of intellectual nuance and liberal constraint, consumed by a hunger for absolutes." As for Hiss: "If innocent, Hiss has fought with great courage to clear his name. If guilty, he is still more remarkable. Who in modern times has shown so unbending a will, so great a readiness to stay with a public role that can bring only grief?" (Anita Bryant?) And a closing benediction: "What we do know is that all of these people have suffered terribly. One wishes for them—innocent and guilty alike—some moments of rest." As long as there's an Irving Howe to define the terms of mercy, you can depend on it that there will be more rest for the guilty than for the innocent.

Representative Democracy: Is Failure Inevitable?

Thirty-nine members of the House of Representatives have decided not to stand for re-election this year, some because of age, some because of finances, some because of the workload, some for personal reasons. But these excuses can all be traced back to a single basic flaw in present political arrangements.

The system, as it now stands, exposes the legislators to the powerful lobbying techniques of organized pressure-groups but does not provide a counterbalancing force emanating from the voters at large. Each member ot the maritime unions gets about $15,000 a year thanks to the maritime subsidy voted by Congress, so you can be sure the maritime lobby works hard for this

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plum. But that $600-million subsidy amounts to about three pennies per day per taxpayer—and who's going to go lobbying in Washington to save three cents? So the political pressures felt by Congress are uniformly in favor of new spending programs and the expansion of old programs, and there is never a meaningful lobbying action against the spending as a whole.

This explains why government spending has grown, for many decades, faster than the national economy; why it continues to balloon under Democratic or Republican majorities; why the number of recorded votes per session has grown from 100 to 700 in the last 15 years; why many observers think the "government" has gone "out of control," and is therefore in need of radical reformation.

And this also explains why a growing number of legislators are beginning to appreciate the virtues of a constitutional constraint on the spending powers of government, such as the amendment approved overwhelmingly by the voters of Tennessee on March 7. A constitutional limitation would take the monkey off the legislators' backs. They would no longer have the power to vote new spending programs beyond the stated limit. The special interest groups would have to fight it out among themselves, rather than ganging up, as they now do, against the taxpayers as a whole. More than half the members of the Michigan legislature, Democrats and Republicans, are in favor of some sort of tax-limitation amendment. In Illinois the House of Representatives has voted to present a tax-limitation amendment to the voters: the winning vote included 58 Democrats and 57 Republicans. It's the same story in dozens of states.

No, representative democracy needn't fail. But the system of unlimited taxing and spending has already failed, and voters and lawmakers from coast to coast are beginning to see that the necessary "fix" will occur at the constitutional level. And just in the nick of time.

Amoral Moralism

Fred and Grace Hechinger of the *New York Times* education staff have written a long piece, "Homosexuality on Campus," for the *Times Magazine*, wherein they find that though there is much more "openness" about H on C now than formerly, there remains a great deal of "prejudice," "fear," "hostility," "ridicule," and other negative attitudes. Would you believe it, even some professedly liberal parents are upset and hurt to learn that their children are gay. Parents and "society" cling obstinately to "stereotypes" of what is "normal" sexual behavior. Whereas those broad-minded Hechingers, after a four-month study of the problem, conclude that the only answer in sight is "the right to privacy," which means that parents should take no interest in their children's sexual development and behavior, and all sexual ethics should be suspended until "new discoveries" and "scientific answers" turn up to settle our moral questions. When will that be? The Hechingers are unequivocal: "Someday."

It is a shame that Mr. and Mrs. Hechinger should have invested four months in a study that coughed up only a few predictable clichés. Just as Americans used to think morality meant sex, so today they seem to think that privacy means bedrooms. Surely there is a third alternative to the false opposition of bigoted cruelty and agnostic indifference. Privacy, in such matters, means keeping the state out: it does not mean that "society," at every level of community including the family, has no legitimate interest. Whatever psychiatric conventions and editorial writers may be saying this month, most people deplore homosexuality, whether as a sin or as a disorder. The difficulty of being "liberal" with respect to one's own children reflects not hypocrisy, but the inadequacy of liberalism where love and personal hope are concerned. No heterosexual seeks psychiatric help to make him homosexual. The notion that there are standards in everything except the important things is preposterous. We wish the broad-minded could find it in their hearts to be a little more broad-minded about narrow-mindedness, and to consider the possibility, however improbable it seems to them, that even the exaggerated "prejudices" of heterosexuals may be signs of a structure of values that deserve to be articulated before they are dismissed.

Inflation

Jimmy can jawbone forever
  And preach about national goals;
Congress can rant at the Arabs
  Or rave over import controls.
Nothing will change one iota,
  Since neither has guts to proclaim:
Deficit-spending's the culprit.
  And printing-press money's to blame.

W. H. VON DREELE

Rake's Progress

Some remarkable developments have occurred in Chile in recent months. The state of siege has been lifted, the curfew revoked, exiled critics allowed to return, the country's few remaining political prisoners offered their freedom.

The country's economy is well on the way to full recovery from its brush with Marxism. During the Allende years, inflation was in the quadruple digits; last year it was 67 per cent and in the first quarter of this

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"Would you mind putting out that cigarette? This is a place of public accommodation."

year it was a mere 7 per cent. The country's agricultural exports are booming, and it has, because of its enlightened economic policies, an abundance of willing lenders in Europe and America. "We have offers for more money than we need," says Sergio de Castro, minister of the economy. Since the Carter Administration has been so generous with its advice to Chile about human rights, perhaps the Chileans might return the favor by offering some lessons in free-market economics to the Administration.

Discussing the Chilean political situation, which in the past the *New York Times* seemed to consider as desperate as that in Cambodia, *Times* reporter Juan de Onis stated that "social tensions and political hatreds" have abated noticeably. He doesn't believe repression has been eliminated, but he believes it has been reduced. "Within Chile," notes Onis, "the followers of President Allende's coalition show much less spirit of vengeance, or even revolutionary militancy, than the exiled political activists in Mexico or Western Europe." A few more stories like this and the Carter State Department may treat Chile as kindly as it does Cuba.

Politics on the Obituary Page

A curious aspect of the Left's penetration of public media is its occasional appearance even on the obituary pages—of the *New York Times*, for instance. Normally, death cools the passions of political partisans. Not so in the case of Alden Whitman, the determined anti-anti-Communist whose political bias was so grossly displayed in his prejudiced and sneering story in the *New York Times* on Professor Allen Weinstein's discussion of his findings in the Alger Hiss case more than a year ago. This was advocacy journalism at its worst. (Whitman is a good friend and fervent supporter of Hiss, and was preparing a biography of Hiss in cooperation with his subject.)

It is not clear whether Alden Whitman has been assigned to the obituary page of the *New York Times* to keep him from injecting political bias into his news stories or whether he has volunteered for this assignment. In any case, he seems to have specialized in glorifying Communists or Communist fellow-travelers, native or foreign, who have died in the odor of political sanctity, regardless of their historical stature or significance. His obituaries of these political figures read like eulogies spiced with malicious insinuations about their political critics.

The most recent case in point is Whitman's long obituary on Matthew Josephson (March 15). Whitman offers a highly selective account of Josephson's fellow-traveling support of the Communist Party and its many efforts during the Thirties—a support of which, he reports, Josephson remained proud, something Whitman evidently finds very praiseworthy. Whitman, however, carefully omits that Josephson's support extended even to the justification of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. He also suppresses the fact that, earlier—in the *Daily Worker* of August 14, 1939, while Stalin's murderous purges were going on—Josephson hailed the Soviet Union as moving toward the fullest democracy, as evidenced by Stalin's new constitution. The statement in the *Daily Worker* contained an attack on John Dewey, Sidney Hook, and the other organizers of the Committee for Cultural Freedom as "Fascists and allies of Fascists" for characterizing the Soviet Union as "totalitarian."

Not content with his artfully deceptive account of Josephson's fellow-traveling, Whitman invents out of whole cloth the legend that James Burnham and Sidney Hook were members of the Communist Party in 1932, in order to contrast their subsequent anti-Communism with Josephson's political piety. Whatever Alden Whitman is serving, he is certainly not serving the cause of honest journalism.

Notes & Asides

■ *From the* New York Times' *review of* Stained Glass *(new novel by WFB), by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt.*

Blackford even attempts to teach us a lesson in English rhetoric. A lady friend he visits in New Haven owns a Volkswagen, on the back of which she has taped an Adlai Stevenson poster that even covers the rear window. At one point, when Blackford has to parallel park the car, he asks his friend to stand outside and

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direct him " 'because I can't see through Adlai. Nor can most Democrats,' he chortled. 'Hey, you know what I just committed in that sentence?' . . . 'Ass,' " his friend replies. " 'You "committed," as you put it, a zeugma—or more properly, a syllepsis. Should we suspend operations so I can congratulate you?' "

According to my source, *Modern English*, by Arnold Lazarus, Andrew MacLeish, and H. Wendell Smith, a syllepsis is one thing ("He writes with enthusiasm and red ink"), while a zeugma is something else, "a construction in which the writer has too optimistically assumed that one of his predicates or modifiers is going to do double duty, when it really cannot" ("no *amount of* money or *people* can influence me").

That, as far as I can see, is the only place that *Stained Glass* goes wrong.

Memo to: WFB
From: Joe Sobran
Dear Bill:

I've always thought the zeugma would one day be your downfall, but I didn't want to say anything . . .

Joe

Dear Bill:

Congratulations on the *New York Times* review!!

To get the exact quote, I looked up "zeugma" a second time. *Webster's Seventh* defines zeugma as "the use of a word to modify or govern two or more words *usually in such a manner that it applies to each in a different sense* [underline mine] or makes sense with only one." You are, therefore, correct as always. Do tell Christopher Lehmann-Haupt for me, will you!

Best wishes always, Judy Block
Bronx, N.Y.

Dear Chris:

I like Lazarus too, indeed have given him for Christmas. But he is not my bible, because every now and then he gets precious, exhuming definitions lost in the mists of neologism. An example: Under *ad hominem*, Lazarus informs us that the term is, "In ARGUMENTATION, any appeal to the personal feelings and prejudices of the reader or audience . . . Argument *ad hominem* is not the same thing as ARGUMENT AGAINST THE MAN, which attempts to discredit a proposition on the grounds it is asserted by a discredited person. (Compare NAME CALLING.)" All very interesting, except that if so, nobody in the world uses *ad hominem* correctly. Certainly not Blackford Oakes. Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Bill:

You may remember I ran a contest [see also page 451]: "How do you tell right from wrong? How would you decorate a tissue box? Which is your favorite truth? How would you describe the taste of chocolate? Do you prefer regret or remorse, and why?" We had about two hundred entries, and I am particularly touched with the efforts of the students of Claremont High School (Claremont, California). Nika [Hazelton]

Right and Wrong

"If you do something and nobody hits you or yells about it, either it is right or you just got away with a wrong."

Decorating a Tissue Box

"What a ridiculous question! . . . Why should I when I can buy one already decorate?"

"For me the first thing that comes to mind is a box covered with different types of noses. That's what kleenex is most often used for, isn't it?"

Favorite Truths

". . . that there are other things that exist besides me."

"Missouri Fox is going to be the band at our girls' league dance."

"There is no truth."

The Flavor of Chocolate

"How would you describe a kiss to a child? Kiss him. For realization, eat!"

"The taste reminds me of over ripen bananas. And the results of eating it are worse. Zits."

Regret or Remorse

"I prefer regret. When I feel remorseful I feel that I have done wrong. However, when I feel regret I only have a sense of loss."

"Both feelings are distasteful and I would rather go through life as happy as possible."

"I do not like to do anything that makes me feel either of these."

■ Gentlemen:

"Nor do Communists, with their conveniently immanentized eschaton," says D. Keith Mano in "Love Bites," February 17. Immanentized eschaton?! You guys even have your hangers-on doing it. One Gordon Hanson, who "cogently analyzes the exiguous contributions" in his letter same issue concludes, ". . . do not let them immanentize the eschaton."

Sounds like a password.

"Halt. Who goes?"

"Gordon Hanson. Immanentize the eschaton."

"Welcome to the club, Gordon. Halt. Who goes?"

"Bud Sullivan. Uh, hoist the petard?"

"Hoo, throw the bum out. 'Chthonian subway' at the very least."

By the way, what does that sly devil, Buck, know of the comeliness of Abzug's buttocks? Yours truly,
Francis J. Sullivan

The SD,B is well-known for his skill in making rational inferences. **—WFB**

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The Black Continent

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

IT WAS REPORTED—in a couple of short paragraphs printed at the bottom of an inside page in a few major newspapers—that on the day preceding President Carter's arrival in Nigeria, South African Prime Minister Vorster made a statement bearing thereon. The presidential journey, Vorster said, was a move in "a new partition of Africa." How he elaborated this diagnosis I do not know, but these few quoted words have led me to a good deal of thinking, and rethinking.

Historians applied the phrase "partition of Africa" to the scramble of the West European powers for African territories and perquisites that took place in the 1880s. By the Berlin Conference in 1884-5, and through numerous protocols, accords, treaties, conventions, military threats, and minor military engagements, Africa was carved up and dealt out to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Spain, and Italy. The United States and Russia were not among the players in that 1880s game, although Russia gave an occasional huff or puff.

The dynamics of that first partition have been sweepingly altered by the liberations, as they are called, of the past 25 years, though, rather strangely, the arbitrary and indeed fantastic pattern of political geography it imposed still persists, in spite of new names and the changed color of the governors.

For the second partition, some of the veteran players—notably Great Britain and France—are still in the room, though limited to the low-stake tables. At the high table this time, according to Vorster's diagnosis, there are only the two newcomers—the United States, and imperial Russia metamorphosed into the Soviet Union.

I continue with a few variants on Vorster's theme:

This second partition takes place at a higher stage of history, as the Soviet player would express it. The first was outrightly colonial in the mode of the Darwinian era of the Industrial Revolution. The winnings were figured in colonies, protectorates, and mandates. We all, all two hundred of us, are independent nations now, and we would no more think of annexing a colony than of making an honest speech in the UN General Assembly. However, some nations are more independent than others. Neither Moscow nor Washington seeks colonies in Africa, but special relationships that promise appropriate advantages for both the African and non-African sides are something else again. Let us not say "neo-colonialism"; the old-fashioned phrase "sphere of influence" is close enough, and less prickly.

A Difference of Style

The objectives of the two partitioners are not identical, and they differ in operational style. The Russians put primary emphasis on strategic targets: harbors at critical spots along the seaways, well-placed sites for airfields, convenient staging sequences. At the beginning of their Africa project, in the early Fifties, soon after the start of the Liberation Epoch, they relied mostly on infiltration, ideological indoctrination, and shipments of arms and civilian goods on easy terms. The results were meager, and in recent years they have been shifting toward a more directly military approach, with an expanding foreign legion supplementing massive transfers of weapons, instructors, technicians, and supporting matériel.

The Americans cannot disregard the strategic dimension, but military strategy usually functions as a negative or secondary motive, as an effort to reverse or counterbalance a Russian strategic move. The primary American thrust, in keeping with its imperial tradition, is economic, with a greasing of conciliatory and seductive politics. Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, is the great new frontier of our era, not suffocating, like most of Asia, in the obsolescent ruins of ancient civilizations, but pushing rudely and impatiently up from primitive darkness into the dynamic ferment of the modern world.

Africa holds, too, huge reserves of many of the critical resources essential to the United States and to modern civilization in general: chrome, uranium, cobalt, petroleum, gas, gold, diamonds, manganese, platinum, potash, and many others. As one after another of the more richly endowed new African nations takes off on the development road, they become more eager and more promising for rapidly mounting trade and investment.

Africa becomes a growingly attractive, almost irresistible El Dorado for the world's greatest and increasingly stultified economy and for its attendant government. And the U.S. has not been doing badly, on net, in the new Africa. In major black African countries like Nigeria, Zaire, and Kenya, formerly close preserves of Western patrons, U.S. banking and business rapidly widen their role. Even in revolutionary Angola, patrolled by Cubans, Gulf Oil operates the Cabinda oil wells, and in once French, now revolutionary Algeria, U.S. companies are active in complex oil and gas developments.

Sorry about That

Nor do U.S. officials or businessmen rub brown or black African governments the wrong way by bringing up human rights in connection with their regimes. For Africa, "human rights" means getting rid of those remaining leftovers of the former age, the white governments, and replacing them with black governments acceptable to the African consensus. Sub-Saharan Africa is the Black Continent, and if Americans want to operate successfully there, they will have to conform to the reality, not bash their heads against it.

You've got to look at the big picture, right? Suppose you were President. When you took your first trip to Africa, would you choose to be the guest of 250,000 forlorn and politically doomed white Rhodesians or of 65 million ambitious, upwardly mobile black Nigerians? Would you go along, on the Rhodesian issue, with the four front-line black states, or would you antagonize them into inviting the Cubans and their Soviet directors to help them out?

Too bad about the 250,000. There are good men among them, but it's the old omelet problem. And if Rhodesia goes, can South Africa be far behind? □

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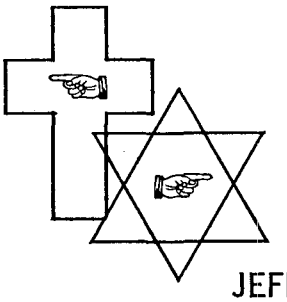
MARXISM VS. MODERNITY

New Directions: Catholics and Jews



JEFFREY HART

IN A DEVELOPMENT that could have far-reaching consequences for American culture and politics, Catholic intellectuals have been moving leftward, while their Jewish counterparts, in a kind of reverse migration, have been moving to the right. Of course there are exceptions to this generalization. Many Catholic intellectuals are still very conservative, and everyone knows that there are still plenty of liberal and leftist Jews. It is a commonplace that old habits die hard, nowhere more true than in the realm of feeling and ancestral commitment. But a genuine sea-change has been taking place in both ethnic subcultures.

It is reflected, for example, in their more familiar intellectual publications. During Norman Podhoretz' tenure as editor, *Commentary* magazine, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, has moved from its 1960s ban-the-bomb position to a tough anti-Soviet and anti-Communist line abroad and a no-nonsense anti-socialist, anti-welfarist position in domestic policy. In its book review section, tough-minded academics make mincemeat of left-wing works.

Unlike *Commentary*, *The New Republic* has never been a "Jewish magazine." Until it was taken over by the current owner and editor, a Harvard philosophy professor named Martin Peretz, *The New Republic* was WASP do-goodish in cultural and political tone. Nevertheless, its contributors and presumably its readership have always had a substantial and even perhaps majority Jewish component. Under Peretz, *The New Republic* has become anti-Soviet, anti-McGovernite, pro-defense, anti-Naderite, anti-Common Cause. Walter Lippmann, thou shouldst be living at this hour. But though the magazine's politics have changed dramatically, some things haven't changed: at *The New Republic* today, Roger Rosenblatt runs at least as good a book review section as Edmund Wilson or Malcolm Cowley ever ran.

The leading economists and social scientists who contribute to *The Public Interest*, an influential quarterly, are predominantly Jewish. The magazine is anti-socialist, against racial quotas, skeptical about welfare and rehabilitation schemes, tough-minded, and empirical. The economists and social scientists who write for it hold top posts in our leading universities.

OVER IN THE Catholic intellectual subculture, everything seems reversed. The *Wanderer* remains conservative and traditionalist, but a sort of pale McGovernism—if you can imagine such a thing, the original being bloodless enough—constitutes the prevailing tone of both the Jesuit magazine *America* and the lay Catholic magazine *Commonweal*. If one did not know that Che Guevara had been zonked in Bolivia, one would assume that he is editing the *National Catholic Reporter*. A couple of years ago, a special issue of the *Holy Cross Quarterly* appeared. Edited by William Van Etten Casey, SJ, it almost literally canonized Mao Tse-tung, contrasting the selfless virtuousness of Maoist Man with the rottenness and decadence of the modern West, and treating the reader to page after expensive page of smiling Maoist Adams and Eves.

In an earlier day, the American Communist/Socialist ambiance featured names like the Rosenbergs and Harry Gold, Nathan Silvermaster and Harry Perlemutter. The fascinating thing about F. O. Matthiessen, the Harvard literary critic, is that he was one of the rare Gentiles in a Stalinist cultural environment. But, interestingly enough, it was an ex-Catholic CIA man, Philip Agee, a New Leftist, whose blowing of numerous agents' covers probably did more damage to U.S. and Western strategic interests than any operation since the Rosenbergs helped steal the bomb.

If, through ill fortune, you wandered into a U.S. bishops' conference, you should be forgiven for thinking that you were at the 1972 McGovern Convention. In 1976 the bishops' Catholic Conference endorsed Humphrey-Hawkins, National Health Insurance, Vietnam amnesty, federal gun control, complaisance toward Hanoi, a crackdown on multinationals, black rule in Rhodesia and South Africa, etc., etc. Most U.S. bishops, as a matter of fact, are conventional administrators and political moderates who would not willingly buy the McGovernite syndrome. They are under constant pressure from militant activists, however, who know how to manipulate the media, and the bishops feel obliged

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to adopt the above positions in order to avoid still worse. Better to throw the multinationals to the Left activists, say, than have them come forward with women's ordination and homosexual marriage.

THE MOST visible Catholic litterateur of the past decade has been Dan Berrigan, SJ, a madcap New Leftist. The most visible Jewish intellectual has been Irving Kristol, a moderately conservative professor of urban affairs at New York University and a featured writer for the *Wall Street Journal*. The most important economist in the world is undoubtedly the free-market monetarist and Nobel Prize-winner Milton Friedman.

Just why Jewish intellectuals have been moving to the right, while Catholic intellectuals embrace an intellectually jejune and dated leftism, is a fascinating subject for reflection. Here are a few thoughts.

The American ethnic subculture is almost always naturally conservative, especially in a social sense and according to its own lights. But the original ethnic subculture is almost always "low" socially. For the upwardly mobile individual, therefore, liberalism and leftism appear socially "higher." An upwardly mobile Catholic or Jew thus tends to move leftward, sometimes dramatically. This constitutes a symbolic rejection of the "low" ethnic subculture out of which he is now levitating himself with the helium of cash.

The Jewish subculture made money—"took off," to apply Walt Whitman Rostow's terminology—at least a generation earlier than the Catholic subculture. Stereotypically, and therefore mostly accurately, the Jewish familial odyssey involved a journey from the Bronx, Brooklyn, or the East Side of Manhattan to CCNY and on to Harvard and then Harvard Medical or Law School. The process could be blitzed through in two hard-working generations. The liberalism, radicalism, even Marxism of the upwardly mobile Jew represented his rejection of rabbi, *shul*, tenement, chicken soup, the whole *echt* Jewish *Gemeinschaft*. Somewhat paradoxically, leftism, asserted against the particularism of the old ethnic group, became a form of universalism.

The American Jewish subculture first "made it" during the New Deal years, the great era of Jewish leftism. The Catholics made it—to the suburbs—during the postwar boom of the 1950s, and capped off the halcyon decade by electing the first Catholic President. A symbolic moment: millions of suburban and newly genteel Catholics who had deserted their ancestral Democratic Party to vote for Ike returned to it in 1960 to vote for a "with it" Catholic aristocrat, Jack Kennedy. Given the enormous symbolic social stakes involved, it would not have mattered if Kennedy had gone to bed with Mata Hari.

Without a doubt, the current liberalism-leftism of the upwardly mobile Catholic intellectual reflects his social dynamism. The point is to get as far as possible from un-chic symbols like Father Coughlin and Joe McCarthy. Nothing could be further from them than Che Guevara, fey Gene McCarthy, and Francine (*Divine Disobedience*) Du Plessix Gray.

During the 1930s, when Harvard crawled with Marxists and Stalinists, places like Holy Cross, Boston College, Fordham, and Notre Dame were pretty grimly conservative. An improbable sexual puritanism pervaded them. They produced a substantial share of the personnel of the FBI. As a matter of fact, the war of the FBI against the CPUSA was, at an important level, a subcultural conflict between Irish Catholics and Jews. Today, however, you rub your eyes. Many of these Catholic campuses crawl with New Leftists, swinging theologians, and half-demented nuns. These Catholic campuses are not now producing many FBI agents. With any luck, rising socially and moving left, the Catholic campus may eventually produce as many Communist spies as Harvard once did.

Ludicrously enough, these culturally freaked-out Catholic academics and intellectuals are now wearing, with mod stylistic alterations, the hand-me-down radical clothes discarded by the Jewish intellectuals during the 1960s. Their entire enterprise is to move as far as possible from the old and "low" Catholicism. Not surprisingly, the big deal in current pop-cult theology is Hans Küng, a worried-looking Swiss whose intellectual mission—if one can so dignify it—has been to try to overthrow as many as possible of the doctrines and traditions that distinguish Catholicism from the rest of Christianity. Should Küng succeed—unlikely in any but a transitory chic sense—Catholics could in essence be Episcopalians or Presbyterians and never feel any sense of transition.

Hans Küng is to the 1970s what Teilhard de Chardin was to the "scientific" era of Robert McNamara, his computers, and the promise of the best and the brightest, such as it was. (We can, of course, take comfort in the fact that an era in modern theology lasts about ten years.) If the analogy holds with the earlier Jewish intellectual experience, the next generation of Catholic intellectuals, no longer threatened by ethnic embarrassments, will move sharply to the right, and Küng will join Teilhard on the cultural remainder-sale

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counter. It should surprise no one if I report that among younger and more socially secure Catholics, many of them my students, I find a great interest in prayer and in serious devotional practice. Perhaps the religious equivalent among the Jews is the present fervent and unembarrassed commitment to Israel.

For the shift rightward among Jewish intellectuals has been just as spectacular as the Catholic leftward lurch. During the early 1960s, as previously noted, the influential magazine Commentary took New Leftish, Aldermaston-march positions and sponsored C. P. Snow as a culture hero. Today *Commentary* publishes pro-U.S. essays by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, muses about invading Saudi Arabia, denounces Jimmy Carter for allowing the Sovietization of Africa, and takes a very hard line on both the Soviets and the Third World. Incidentally, it is worth noting that the Soviet Union today has the worst media image it has had since the mid-1950s.

Notice: During the early 1960s, a representative figure, sociologist Nathan Glazer, was enthusiastic about Castro. Today Glazer writes essays attacking quotas, and reviews books for NATIONAL REVIEW.

Several prominent Jewish intellectuals, friends of mine, were luminaries of the 1960s counter-culture and out front in the so-called Peace Movement. Today they are conservative and prefer not to discuss the 1960s. Numerous Jewish intellectuals, and in my judgment most of the brightest ones, now have what amounts to a working alliance with conservatives both here and in Europe.

What is going on? A number of very interesting things, I think.

THE PREDICAMENT of Israel is of course a very important factor. Prior to the Yom Kippur War and the oil embargo, Israel seemed to have broad support throughout the West. She even had important ties to black Africa. Today it is painfully clear that Israel is politically isolated. A prime target of Soviet and Third World machinations, depends totally on the U.S. for her very survival. From that perspective, U.S. military and economic power suddenly seems vital to Jews. Former peaceniks find themselves joyful over the cruise missile.

A great deal follows from this. If it is important that the U.S. be strong, then you do not fool around with a pot-and-petunias counter-culture. You want lasers, the neutron bomb, and atomic energy. But Israel is not the only factor here. These intellectuals are Jewish—but they are also intellectuals. And the intellectual case against socialism has become overwhelming. Neither on paper nor in practice is socialism going anywhere. England? Tanzania? China? In the year 1978, anyone with brains knows that. The residual socialists today are mostly second-rate hacks in the academic boondocks.

Furthermore, for these Jewish intellectuals, the entire liberal reverse-discrimination phenomenon has been traumatic. They themselves have risen and flourished on the basis of merit. Reverse discrimination in favor of blacks, Hispanics, and whatnot can only damage the overall Jewish interest. A platonic liberal like Archibald Cox, looking down from Olympus, may favor reverse discrimination. A tough-minded lawyer like the late Alexander Bickel of Yale, or a shrewd historian like Harvard's Oscar Handlin, sees very clearly the nature of this particular Beast.

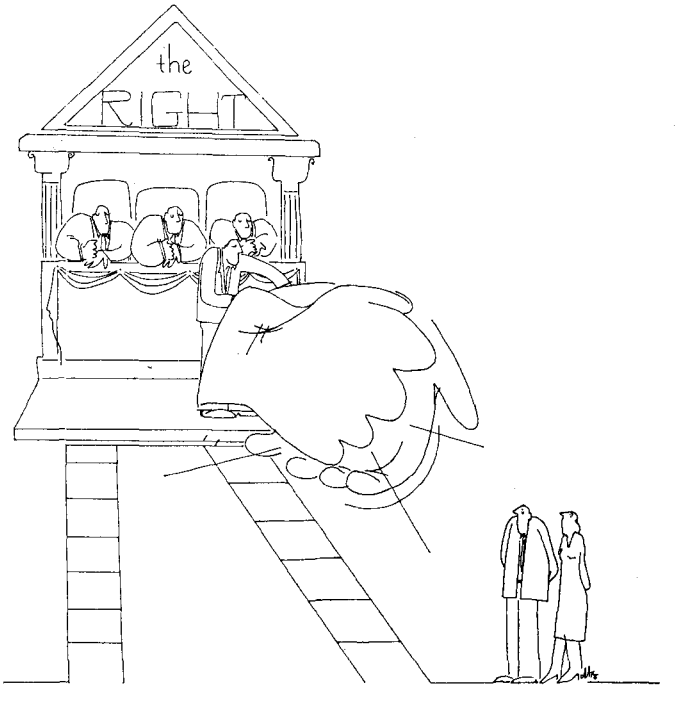
As I began by noting, we are witnessing a peculiar phenomenon. While many Catholic intellectuals are drifting out into the fever swamps of a sentimental and dated Marxism, many of the most important Jewish intellectuals have moved to the right.

Well, welcome aboard.

A MOMENT AGO, I described Marxism as "dated." This was not a mere polemical epithet, casually bestowed. To paraphrase *The Communist Manifesto*, a specter is haunting Marxism, the specter of Irrelevance. I am going to argue here, with considerable debt to the American sociologist John Murray Cuddihy, that objective social developments in the modern West are rendering Marxism totally irrelevant as a social model.

Marxism today retains its potency only among the more primitive and pre-modern social classes in the West, and among the pre-modern and relatively primitive Third World nations. If Karl Marx himself is somewhere aware of this development, it must constitute an unbearable irony for him. He considered his philosophy modern, scientific, advanced. He expected that the Marxist revolution would take place in Germany, which in many ways was the most advanced Western society. It is commonplace to observe that Marx would have been horrified at the fact that the Communist revolution occurred first in Russia, a rural nation he thoroughly despised. (He liked to refer to "the idiocy of rural life.")

But, terrible irony, Marxism in its very structure is primitive, anti-modern, part of the nineteenth century against which modernity so potently rebelled. In its central myth, Marxism posits a great clash between the oppressed and



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their oppressors, a mighty Manichean struggle which will issue in a classless society—The Revolution.

In its own distinctive structure, however, modern society tends increasingly to exclude such a huge social collision. Modernity constantly erodes the "us-and-them" structure characteristic of Marxism. In the terminology of sociology, the modern individual is highly "differentiated." Individuals tend to be allied in some respects, in conflict in others. A Jew and a Catholic might well be at odds over abortion, but working together in the Democratic Party or the local school board. Two businessmen might be bitter competitors, but allied on the Chamber of Commerce. The economic interests of a boss and a worker might be in conflict, but they might be close religious or cultural allies.

Modernity tends to produce, increasingly, this kind of pluralism. And such differentiation excludes any such grand Manichean clash as Marxism posits.

From that perspective, Marxism is backward-looking. As a social philosophy it looks back to the consolidated social classes of pre-modern Europe, where the interests of a given class were more coherent and "compact." Marxism thus represents the end of something, and has its roots in a pre-modern, traditional social reality. No fully aware modern consciousness can find it satisfactory.

Of course, Marxism and modern art are at odds, completely incompatible. Modern art itself is "differentiated"—separated from propagandistic content. Marxist "social realism" is vulgar. Aesthetically, Marxism was dead as soon as Picasso painted *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* in 1907. The spirit of modernity is free, open, adventurous, intense, brilliant. The real Revolution, the Modern Revolution, occurred during the first decade of the twentieth century. Marxism is musty, heavy, old-fashioned, Victorian, spiritually primitive, tasteless.

For the time being, Marxism does retain some pertinence in the primitive states of the Third World, where it functions as an instrument of mass manipulation among pre-modern populations. But if an intellectual in the modern West tells you that he is a Marxist, you may be sure that you are listening to a second-rater who simply does not know what century he is living in.

For the modern West, then, the sentimental leftism and even Marxism of many Catholic intellectuals both here and abroad is simply an irrelevancy, a dead weight inherited from the past, an excrescence, dated, unintelligent. As against the heavy materialism, simplistic sociology, and plodding philosophy of process thus inherited from the nineteenth century, modernity is a matter of speed, of light, of sudden transformations and startling possibilities, of quantum leaps and unexpected juxtapositions, a world in which necessity yields ever more quickly to freedom, the world not of Marx and Engels but of Calder and Brancusi, Picasso and Pound, brilliant, impossible to anticipate, glorious. □

The Key to Southeast Central America

AFTER HEARING that both the Veterans of Foreign Wars and Ronald Reagan had condemned the proposed Panama Canal treaties, I rushed over to the office of that organization's Temporary Deputy Membership Drive Commander, Ronald Hollywood.

"Over here," the Commander was singing in a somewhat quavering voice as he buckled on his saber and packed up his old kit bag. "Over here . . . The Yanks are coming . . ."

"Excuse me, Commander," I said, "but aren't you afraid that Panama may cause trouble if we don't ratify that treaty?"

"It's quite possible that we could become embroiled in an all-out war in Central America," he agreed, "if things break right."

"If things break right?"

"Do you realize that it's been thirty-some years since this nation has waged a decent foreign war?"

"But Panama . . ."

"You couldn't pick a better spot. It's the key to all of Southeast Central America. As Panama goes, so goes Costa Rica. Those countries are like dominoes."

"I thought we learned our lesson in Vietnam."

"We sure did. Don't get bogged down in a land war in Asia. That's why we've got our eyes on Central America. Do you realize that by fighting Panama we'll have the shortest supply lines since Teddy took Cuba? Why, our boys will be able to get home on a long weekend!"

Tilting his garrison cap at a rakish angle, the Commander began singing, "Good-bye, Annie, I'm off to kill a Pannie . . ."

"But once war is declared, won't the Panamanians simply blow up the canal?" I asked.

"Exactly! The Pannies blow up the canal, then we blow up the Pannies. To set an example. This is a war to make Central America safe for canals."

"But all you'll wind up with is the enmity of all Latin America and no canal at all," I protested.

"That," said the Commander, rubbing his hands, "and a million new eligible members.

"Look at the alternative. Would you have us abandon this magnificent feat of modern engineering, this eighth wonder of the world, this bastion of democracy, this freedom-loving canal for which our boys fought mosquitos and died? Would you have us violate the holy Monroe Doctrine by yielding up this sacred soil of the Americas to a foreign power without a fight?

"And what of our Manifest Destiny? Does not this canal stretch from sea to shining sea? Should this mighty canal slip from our grasp, how could our Great White Fleet show the flag?"

"But, Commander Hollywood . . ."

"Let us not forget The White Man's Burden, while at the same time we Remember the *Maine*. Shoot when you see the . . ."

"Are you saying that you can see the light at the end of the tunnel, Commander Hollywood?"

"No," he said, "but tomorrow, tomorrow . . . You wait and see."

—JOHN KEEFAUVER

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THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

What's to Be Done?

RICHARD BROOKHISER

Tom Wolfe wrote a piece a few years ago identifying O'Hare Airport as the intellectual capital of the nation—the switchyard in which, on any given day, a majority of America's idea-mongers could be found, waiting to fan out to the hinterlands to instruct the people on the awfulness of their society. On April 7, O'Hare played host to a different collection of thinkers, headed no farther than the Sheraton Plaza in Chicago—the members and guests of the Philadelphia Society.

The Philadelphia Society has been meeting since 1964, in ever-expanding numbers, to discuss the prospects and principles of "free and ordered" society; the topic of this year's meeting—"What Is to Be Done?"—reflects the fact that since then, the situation has grown simultaneously worse and more hopeful: worse, in that the free society's enemies—big government at home, and Communist governments abroad—have become more powerful; more hopeful, in that the bankruptcy of traditional liberal responses is more generally recognized—even by liberals themselves.

Stephen Haseler, who addressed Friday's dinner on the state of Europe, is a self-described Social Democrat—"somewhat unsound on M_3, but on foreign policy, a shade to the right of General Douglas MacArthur." The state of Europe, as he surveyed it, was not healthy. He discussed the evisceration of the Socialists by the Communists in the French elections; the achievement, by the Italian Communists, of a position in the government for the first time since 1947; and the presence, as peers, at his own Labor Party's conference in Brighton last year of delegates from every European Communist Party except Portugal's. Haseler described Communist strategy as twofold—to stoke domestic turmoil, while simultaneously offering themselves as "potential sources of stability." The success of the strategy, Haseler went on, depends on American vacillation. With the Red Army lying across the Elbe, non-Communist Europeans cannot afford to tie themselves to an indecisive ally; and detente has prompted them to hedge their bets.

On Saturday the weather, which had been unseasonable—warm and sunny—changed, and attention shifted to domestic problems. Here again, there was no lack of gloom. Stefan Possony, in the morning seminar on "Government and Bureaucracy," described the Leviathan state as "a pretty sick animal," wracked by bureaucratic infighting and beset by socialist and ecological ideologues. The patient, he was sure, would die; but whether through evolution or catastrophe, he could not say. G. Warren Nutter of the University of Virginia presented the results of a study of 13 Western industrialized nations which showed that government growth over the last thirty years had been significant and steady—since 1950, the average percentage of national income devoted to government spending had risen from one-third to over a half. Nor were the increases confined to any culture or country, but seemed, rather, to be generated by the nature of modern democracy itself. These findings were indirectly confirmed later in the afternoon by Alan Meltzer of Carnegie-Mellon University, who has discovered that the growth of American government has been almost constant throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The question, Meltzer concluded, "is not, Why have we deteriorated? but, How did Adam Smith succeed [in the first place]?"; and the answer suggested by his data is that free market practices survived only so long as the franchise was restricted. Individuals cast ballots in the same way as they spend dollars—rationally and for the purpose of maximizing their self-interest—which, when the mean income lies above the median, will lead inexorably to redistribution.

Not all prophecies were dire, however. Arthur Shenfield—economist, barrister, and impeccable rhetorician—insisted that all power "prepares its own antidote"; we should not, therefore, encourage our bureaucrats to become efficient, but should "let the situation in HEW persist as it is, and get worse," until public resentment finally brings them down. Economist William Niskanen endorsed bureaucratic chaos for somewhat different reasons. Our preference for trim, functionally consolidated agencies, he maintained, was a legacy of outmoded academic prejudices, mostly German. Bureaucracies, like businesses, function most efficiently when spurred by competition among themselves. "I'm in favor of five HEWs," Niskanen said, "or none."

The Society also heard reports on two anti-statist counter-offensives already in progress. Friday evening, Robert Chitester, president of WQLN in Erie, Pennsylvania, previewed Milton Friedman's televised answer to John Kenneth Galbraith's assault on economic understanding. The Friedman series, as yet unnamed, is scheduled for September 1979; and Chitester, an energetic man, is shooting for the largest PBS audience ever. At the same time, Harcourt Brace will bring it out as a book (Galbraith's only advice to Friedman was to make sure that royalties would be as high as possible).

The focus shifted to politics Saturday afternoon, as *NR*'s William Rickenbacker discussed the fortunes of the National Tax Limitation Committee. Rickenbacker came fresh from a smashing victory in Tennessee; in Illinois, an amendment to set constitutional limits on taxes has cleared the lower house by a margin of 2 to 1; and similar initiatives are being prepared in 24 states. "I bring you good news," he observed modestly, "for the first time in twenty years."

If good news was in short supply, good spirits were not. The Philadelphia Society is probably one of the few places on earth where a Social Democrat (Stephen Haseler) could be politely questioned by a "socialist" (Thomas Molnar) and a libertarian (Tibor Machan). Saturday evening, the Liberty Bell neckties took their leave of the Sheraton; and O'Hare was left to its inhabitants. □

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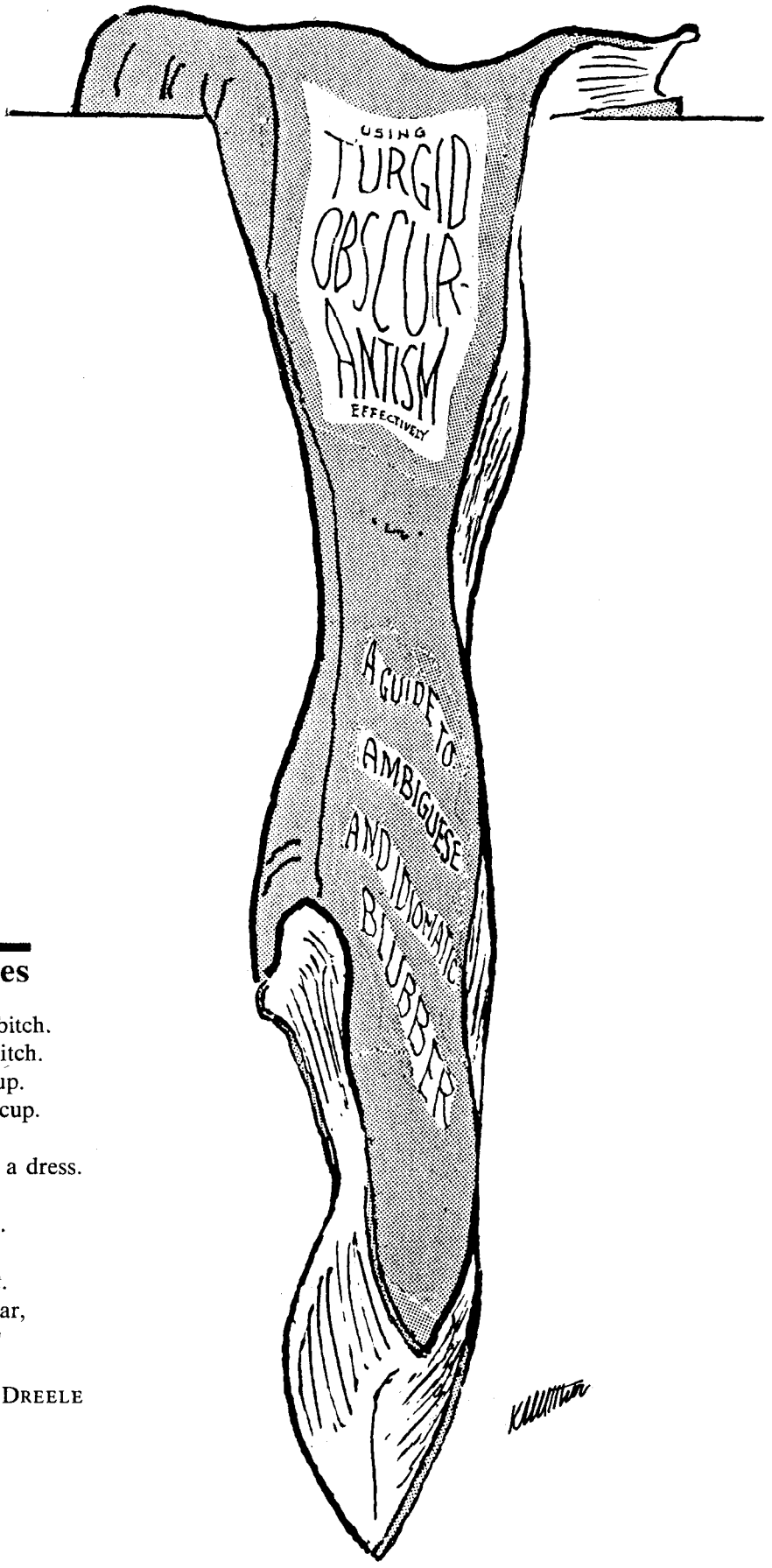
help !!!!

Pluses and Minuses

The miners snarl; the farmers bitch.
The Marston case remains an itch.
The dollar's down; inflation's up.
New York approaches with its cup.
The bill on energy's a mess.
Ham Jordan spits things down a dress.
The Jewish liaison resigns.
In Congress, everybody whines.
The Army's edgy over SALT,
And Begin mutters, *Oy, gevalt.*
Gee, judging from the list so far,
I wonder what the pluses are?

W. H. VON DREELE



From Authorized Pre-"Edited" version of *The Boggle,* by John Kreuttner.

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STEEL HIKE
ECON. 101
DOLLAR
NO... THAT ONE'S THE GENERATION GAP... THIS ONE'S THE CREDIBILITY GAP

". . . And don't forget to keep your powder dry, dear!"

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THOUGHTS ON APRIL 17

Myth: People in higher tax brackets claim the bulk of deductions. Myth: The bulk of taxes are paid by lower-income earners. Myth: Most loopholes were designed for the rich. Fact: The road to serfdom lies through the IRS

Some Tax Myths: Who Pays What?

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

IN THE DEBATE on tax reform, we are going to hear so much nonsense from the White House, the Treasury, the Congress, the Brookings Institution, Harvard, and People of Sensibility that I would like to head off some of it by getting some facts on record before it begins.

First, let's look at the impact of inflation on the taxpayer and on government revenues. Who can imagine a jar of peanut butter costing $11.23, a gallon of milk costing $12.49, a pair of work pants costing $80.69? Yet that is exactly what these things will cost 45 years from now if prices rise by 5 per cent a year—and how many of us have heard it said that if we could just get inflation down to 5 per cent a year and keep it there we would have the beast back in the box?

What happens, though, to a person whose income rises along with inflation by 5 per cent a year? Doesn't he maintain his purchasing power and standard of living? Absolutely not.

To show that it is not just the upper-income taxpayers who are harmed, let's take for an example someone earning $6,240 a year. In 1976 he would have paid no taxes. Instead, he would have received a $155 check from the Treasury, thanks to the earned income credit. After 45 years of 5 per cent pay raises, he would be earning about $56,000 a year—on which he would have to pay about $18,000 in taxes. His after-tax money income would have risen from $6,395 in 1976 to about $38,000 in 2021, or by substantially less than the rate of inflation. His after-tax income in 2021 would have a purchasing power equal to about $4,350 in 1976 terms. In spite of his much larger money income, this person would have experienced a decline in his living standard of nearly one-third. This is the result of progressive income taxation plus inflation, which together caused taxes on the same amount of purchasing power—$6,240 in 1976 terms—to rise from a refund of 2.5 per cent in 1976 to a tax of 30 per cent in 2021.

Indexing the tax structure (adjusting it to offset inflation) would prevent this deterioration that is occurring in the living standards of all Americans. One might think that this would make indexing an important issue in tax reform. Yet, it is not part of the Administration's proposals. Opponents of indexation have argued that inflation causes government's costs to rise, so that it also needs more revenues. However, the way it is now, the government's revenues don't simply rise by the amount of the inflation, they rise by 1.65 times the rate of inflation. A 10 per cent rate of inflation means a 16.5 per cent increase in revenues. That is why governments prefer to fight unemployment.

Who Pays?

How much faster than the rate of inflation would an individual's income have to rise for his after-tax income to maintain the same purchasing power? That depends on his tax rate. Professor Dan Throop Smith, a tax expert at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, has calculated that a person at the lower end of the income distribution, who is paying an average income tax of 10 per cent and a marginal tax rate of 20 per cent, can keep his purchasing power constant only if his income rises by 11 per cent above the rate of inflation. A person with an average tax rate of 30 per cent and a marginal rate of 50 per cent would have to have his income increased by 40 per cent above the rate of inflation to maintain constant purchasing power. A person in the upper brackets, paying an average tax rate of 50 per cent and a marginal rate of 70 per cent, would have to have a 67 per cent increase in income above the rate of inflation in order to stay even. The idea that inflation hurts the lower income brackets more than the upper income brackets is clearly erroneous. What inflation really does is to push everyone into higher tax brackets. Government speeds this process along by designing tax cuts that reduce the bottom brackets by more than the top brackets. The result is to make the income tax system more steeply progressive, thus magnifying the ravages of inflation.

Another myth that bounces around the Congress is that the bulk of the taxes are paid by lower income earners, while the rich largely escape taxation. If we look at the IRS's *Statistics of Income*, we discover that this myth, which is so assiduously kept alive, is not even a half-truth. It is a whole lie. Look at the table opposite, which was prepared by the Tax Foundation, and be amazed at the distribution of the tax burden.

This table shows that taxpayers with incomes in the top 5 per cent—those with adjusted gross income of $29,272 or more—paid over one-third of the total personal income taxes collected by

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the Federal Government in 1975. The top 10 per cent of taxpayers—those earning $23,420 or more—picked up the tab for nearly half the total tax bill. In contrast, the lowest 10 per cent of taxpayers paid only one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total tax bill. Similarly, taxpayers with adjusted gross incomes of $15,898 or more—those in the top 25 per cent—paid 72 per cent of total personal income taxes. Taxpayers in the lowest 25 per cent did not even pay 1 per cent of total income taxes. Even the bottom 50 per cent accounted for only 7 per cent of total tax collections. Yet those in the top 1 per cent paid almost 20 per cent of the total revenues that the government collects from the personal income tax.

Although much has been said about high-income taxpayers with little or no tax liability and about the poor paying the way for the rich, the Tax Foundation notes: "The latest *Statistics of Income* showed that the 1,149 taxpayers earning $1,000,000 or more in 1975 paid an average tax of $1,011,317. The total tax paid by these few high-income taxpayers added up to $1.15 billion." (What public services, one might ask, does a taxpayer receive in return for a million dollars in income taxes?)

Who Deducts?

The table shows another interesting fact. Since 1970 the tax burden has been placed more and more firmly on the upper brackets. In 1970 the lowest 50 per cent paid 10.3 per cent of the total taxes paid, and the highest 50 per cent paid 89.7 per cent. By 1975 the percentage paid by the lowest 50 per cent had declined to 7.1, and the burden carried by the highest 50 per cent had risen to 92.9 per cent. In addition, the Tax Foundation reports that "several million taxpayers disappeared from the tax rolls altogether as a result of legislative changes benefiting those with lower incomes during the period 1970-75." Treasury figures for 1976 show that the tax burden carried by the top 50 per cent increased to 94 per cent.

This brings us to the myth that obscures our vision of the facts of deductions. These are everywhere denounced as loopholes for the rich. However, the bulk of deductions benefit those in the middle to lower income tax brackets, and the percentage difference between adjusted gross income and taxable income is greater the lower the income bracket. For example, in the under $10,000 adjusted gross income class, deductions come to 48.9 per cent of adjusted gross income. In the $10,000 to $24,999 class, deductions are 31.1 per cent of adjusted gross income, and in the $25,000 and over class they are only 22.8 per cent.

According to Treasury figures in 1976, the upper-income group benefited from about $16 billion in deductions, exclusions, and other privileges, about half of which resulted from recognizing the difference between capital gains and ordinary income. Lower- and middle-income groups, on the other hand, benefited from about $50 billion in deductions and exclusions, such as the exclusion of unemployment benefits, Social Security payments, workers' compensation benefits, pension contributions and earnings, employer-paid medical insurance premiums and medical care, the deductions of interest on consumer credit and home mortgages, property taxes, medical expenses, and state and local taxes, and the deferral of capital gain on the sale of a home plus credit for the purchase of a new home. For every dollar of upper-bracket tax savings, the lower and middle brackets saved three dollars.

In a recent speech in the U.S. Senate, Senator Curtis, the ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, examined the Treasury's list of 69 tax loopholes for the 1977 fiscal year. The Senator pointed out that the Treasury's loophole list consists primarily of the fringe benefits and deductions that pertain to the middle and lower income groups. On the Treasury's loophole list of untaxed income are such items as veterans' disability compensation, disabled coal miners' benefits, GI bill benefits, and Social Security benefits. Senator Curtis pointed out that two of the biggest loopholes on the Treasury's list are the contributions that employers make to pension plans and medical insurance for their employees. Said Senator Curtis: "When I see that the great majority of these benefits go to people who are not rich, I wonder what the tax reformers are up to."

Roger Freeman of the Hoover Institution summed up his book on tax loopholes as follows: "The literature of the tax reform drive usually asserts that most of the loopholes were designed for and worked to the benefit of the rich, that poor and middle-income taxpayers are taxed on all of their income, with no escape possibilities, and that most of the income that avoids taxation is to be found in the very high income brackets. The facts, however, suggest the opposite: much or most of the untaxed income is in the low and medium income brackets." One of the Administration's tax reform proposals is to tax

Percentage of Total Taxes Paid by High- and Low-Income Taxpayers 1970 and 1975

Adjusted-gross-income class	Income level		Percentage of total taxes paid	
	1970	1975	1970	1975
Highest 1 per cent	$43,249 or more	$59,338 or more	17.6	18.7
Highest 5 per cent	20,867 or more	29,272 or more	34.1	36.6
Highest 10 per cent	16,965 or more	23,420 or more	45.0	48.7
Highest 25 per cent	11,467 or more	15,898 or more	68.3	72.0
Highest 50 per cent	6,919 or more	8,931 or more	89.7	92.9
Lowest 50 per cent	6,918 or less	8,930 or less	10.3	7.1
Lowest 25 per cent	3,157 or less	4,044 or less	0.9	0.4
Lowest 10 per cent	1,259 or less	1,527 or less	0.1	0.1

Source: Tax Foundation computations, based on Internal Revenue Service Statistics of Income.

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fringe benefits, by which they claim to mean "the three-martini lunch." But the unions are concerned rather than fooled. They know where the untaxed benefits are that would yield substantial tax revenues.

At the beginning of this article, I showed how inflation and progressive taxation combine to reduce the purchasing power of rising incomes. Dale W. Sommer, in the September 26, 1977 issue of *Industry Week*, presents some interesting statistics from the Department of Commerce's 1976 National Income and Products Accounts that illustrate the extent to which American incomes have been undone by taxflation. Over the past ten years the average wage has risen 77.3 per cent, whereas the Consumer Price Index has risen 75.4 per cent. So the average worker seems to have kept up with inflation. But the total tax burden has risen 144 per cent during the same period. The 144 per cent growth in the total tax bite exceeded the 126.6 per cent growth in total production of goods and services (GNP) and the 119.2 per cent growth in total national income. On a per-capita basis, Americans paid $2,261 in taxes in 1976, compared to $1,014 in 1966.

Last year Americans paid $16.7 billion more in taxes than they spent on the three basic necessities of food, clothing, and housing. The total tax bill came to $486.4 billion, whereas the total spent on food, clothing, and housing came to $469.7 billion. Per capita, $2,261 was spent on taxes, whereas $1,048 was spent on food, $354 on clothing, and $780 on shelter. Added together, the three necessities still come to $79 less than per-capita taxes paid by the American people.

Taxes far outpace the growth in real income. In 1976, federal taxes grew 20.8 per cent. The entire economy grew 11.6 per cent, and 5.3 per cent of that growth was the result of inflation rather than an actual increase in the production of goods and services.

The largest loophole of all in our income tax system works for the benefit of government. It is the loophole that allows government to use inflation to increase its tax bite on constant—and even on declining—levels of purchasing power without having to legislate higher tax rates. The central issue of tax reform is the closing of this loophole.

But in its proposal to tax so-called capital gains as ordinary income, the Carter Administration shows every intention of enlarging it. During inflationary periods, the taxation of capital gains as ordinary income can amount to confiscation of people's assets. Suppose you invest $10,000 in an income-producing asset and inflation drives the price of that asset to $15,000. Suppose that family educational or medical expenses force you to sell the asset. Even though its replacement cost is $15,000 —the $15,000 you receive will not buy any more than the $10,000 you paid— the government will claim that you have a $5,000 capital gain and tax it. Suppose you are in the 25 per cent bracket. That means $1,250 of your assets will be confiscated by the government.

If the Administration widens govern-

(Continues on page 547)

The Corporate Tax Burden

SOME TAX reformers lately have been interpreting the rising personal income tax burden as evidence that the corporations are paying less. The concept of government's taking more from every source of tax revenue is too difficult for citizens' tax reform organizations to grasp. These tax-exempt spokesmen for the government's interest pontificate in the pages of the *Washington Post*, where the natural inclinations of government are best reinforced, about "the wealthy corporations who now use loopholes to pay little or no taxes." One such public-spirited spokesman for enserfment recently bemoaned "the continued decline in the tax rates corporations actually pay, now about 25 per cent, compared to 38 per cent in 1969." These figures came out of the tax reformer's ear.

The U.S. Department of Commerce's National Income and Product Accounts show that the effective tax rate on real corporate profits (not what the IRS calls profits) has been higher than the statutory rate (48 per cent) for the past nine years, exceeding 100 per cent in 1974—*in spite of all the loopholes.* Obviously, closing the "loopholes" in a period of inflation would mean that any return to the owners would have to pass through Washington, where the owners would have to fight for their money against the organized welfare lobbies and the spending constituencies of the Congress. The table below summarizes what official government statistics say the effective tax rates are. Notice that they go up and down with inflation. This is because inflation overstates profits by causing firms' books based on historical costs to understate the true cost of replacing the plant, equipment, and inventory that are used up in production. As a result, part of what the firms' books show as net revenues, which are subject to tax, represents the understatement of the firms' cost. Thus does inflation convert costs into taxable income, thereby increasing the effective tax rate on corporate profit.

Year	Inflation Rate (CPI)	Effective Tax Rate*
1968	4.7%	52%
1969	6.1	57
1970	5.5	64
1971	3.4	62
1972	3.4	56
1973	8.8	63
1974	12.2	102
1975	7.0	84
1976	4.8	78

*Tax liability as a percentage of corporate profits, with inventory and tax depreciation allowances adjusted for replacement costs.

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Inflation, then, increases government's share of corporate income just as it increases government's share of personal income. Since pension funds own between one-third and one-half of the largest corporations, the government increases its share of corporate income at the expense of the private incomes of the retired. This game plan leads to greater spending programs for the aged.

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THE TWO-GERMANYS FORMULA

Resolving the Taiwan Question

H. M. KU

TWO DOCUMENTS WILL largely determine U.S. relations with the two Chinas in the near future. It behooves us to examine their meaning and impact with care.

The Mutual Defense Treaty, signed in December 1954 and subsequently ratified by the U.S. Senate, is the most important treaty Nationalist China has ever made with a foreign power. Its purpose was to meet a critical situation arising after the Korean War. Peking had been declared an aggressor by the Security Council of the United Nations and had assumed a threatening posture toward both Taiwan and the U.S. position in the western Pacific. The intent of the treaty was to give stability to a highly fluid and precarious situation until the political balance of power in the area could be restored.

Not many years after the signing of the Defense Treaty, there occurred a bewildering shift of political alignments in that part of the world. After a honeymoon lasting less than a decade, the two Communist giants—the USSR and Red China—became sworn enemies. By the beginning of the 1960s, Peking was in isolation, and its relations with both of the superpowers were unfriendly.

Peking realized that it could not remain in that unhappy position for very long. Here was a tough problem, and it was Chou En-lai who performed the necessary diplomatic feat. His imagination, boldness, careful planning, and cautious execution eventually brought about an almost unbelievable historical event: an American President was induced to make the ten-thousand-mile journey from Washington to Peking in order to do homage to Mao Tse-tung.

After all the publicity and the elaborate hospitality on the part of the Chinese, the distinguished visitor was obliged to make a parting gift to memorialize the occasion. It took the form of the Shanghai Communiqué of February 27, 1972. Possibly Chou En-lai had expected something more substantial; but, realizing that the power of an American President is limited by the Constitution, he had to be content with what Nixon was able to give him.

The Communiqué stated the position of each side. "The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of 'one China, one Taiwan,' 'one China, two governments,' 'two Chinas,' an 'independent Taiwan'; or advocate that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined.'"

MEANWHILE, "The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes."

Now, "One China" is a political slogan. The Nationalists used it first to prevent any hasty recognition of the Peking regime by the world community. Chou En-lai also embraced it as the basis of an important political settlement. But it should be pointed out that the set pattern in Chinese history has been of a country sometimes divided and sometimes unified. Division and unification: one follows the other in a cycle. A divided China is nothing new.

The best example is the Southern Sung. When the Mongols invaded North China, the Sung Dynasty moved southward, across the Yangtze River, and re-established its government in Hangchow. Though reduced in territory and power, it co-existed with the Mongols for 152 years. During this period the Southern Sung was regarded as the legitimate government of China, until it was finally overrun by Kublai Khan in 1276.

If State Department officials consult their records, they will also find that even at the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the First World War, the Chinese delegation included representatives from the government of Peking as well as those from the rival government in Canton. Again in 1921, the U.S., with the blessing of the Peking government, went so far as to dispatch an emissary to China to persuade the opposition government in Canton to send a representative to the Washington Conference of 1921-22. In both instances, neither the U.S. nor any other principal power saw anything wrong in having "two Chinas" represented at an international conference. Perhaps neither Richard Nixon nor Henry Kissinger was aware of this history, but it is a fact that at various times the U.S. Government has dealt with "two Chinas" and thought nothing of it.

Nor, of course, is China's situation unique today. We have two Germanys, two Koreas; until recently we had two Vietnams, and there may well be two Canadas in the near future. The U.S. is not required to judge whether any of these is the "sole legal government" of the territory in question. If the U.S. did that, it could rightly be accused of interfering in the internal affairs of another state.

Now consider the second point in the Shanghai Communiqué, concerning the future of Taiwan. When Nixon reaffirmed the U.S. interest in "a peace-

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ful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves," he probably had no clear idea how to translate these words into reality, however sincerely he meant them. But he was too intelligent not to know that his words in favor of a "peaceful settlement" would have little effect on Peking. Chou En-lai did not even deem them worthy of response. And according to correspondent William Safire, a Peking Foreign Ministry official recently brushed aside the provision for a "peaceful settlement" with the following statement: "We never said we would eliminate Taiwan only by peaceful means. . . . If a peaceful solution is possible, we would like to have it, but there is a big bunch of counter-revolutionaries in Taiwan who do not want Taiwan liberated, so the only other alternative is to liberate it by force." This attitude was reaffirmed by Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, both Politburo members, in their statements last fall to American and Japanese visitors.

ONE MUST REMEMBER, however, that the temper of the people in Taiwan is equally determined. Neither the Chinese Nationalists there nor the native Taiwanese will trade freedom for a life of slavery. For they understand nature of despotism under Communist rule, and would resist to the last man. If Peking decides to "liberate" Taiwan, the fight will be bloody and long. It took the Mongols 152 years to cross the few miles of the Yangtze River. Even under modern conditions, Peking will find the hundred miles of the Taiwan Strait a formidable barrier. The military casualties on each side would be in the tens of thousands, and an equal number of civilians would perish in bombing raids.

But before countenancing such a ghastly possibility, I invite you to ponder a practical question: The American people have now had over fifty years of experience in dealing with Communists; what kind of Washington-Peking relationship do *you* think would be ushered in by the fulfillment of the aspirations affirmed in the Shanghai Communiqué? There might be a brief honeymoon. Would it last? The fact is that America has never achieved real friendship with any country under Communism. It stands to reason that the philosophical outlook and motivation of peoples under two such different systems would be basically antagonistic. There exists no solid basis of friendship or cooperation. The Shanghai Communiqué has not in the slightest degree altered the basic differences that keep these two worlds apart.

What, in fact, is the precise status of the Shanghai Communiqué at the moment? There is, oddly, no clear answer to this question.

Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* recently conducted an investigation. What he found out confirms my own view of the matter. He wrote that State Department officials "underscored that in their opinion the Nixon statement was clearly a statement of intention and not a binding agreement or a formal understanding with the Chinese." In explaining the tardy implementation of the Communiqué, he asserted that Nixon "did not want to risk alienating the conservative members of Congress who had been the strongest adherents of close American ties with Taiwan." A year or so later, the Watergate scandal broke out, and Nixon concluded that discretion was the better part of valor. Gwertzman adds that the Chinese Communists are unhappy with America's failure to live up to the Communiqué. However, the passing of Chou En-lai has left a vacuum, and his successors do not know how to proceed.

THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUÉ has evidently caused the Carter Administration some embarrassment. A former American ambassador (Everett F. Drumright) proposed a solution in rather forthright language. He said: "We do not need to be bound by the Shanghai Communiqué, which has no official standing beyond Mr. Nixon. Instead, I suggest that we take a fresh look at the problem while proceeding at a deliberately patient pace."

While legally he may be correct, Drumright oversimplifies the problem. The Shanghai Communiqué may not be binding upon the Carter Administration, but it cannot very well be repudiated entirely. Similarly, Taiwan is not "bound" by the declaration, but unilateral denunciation of it by Taiwan would have little effect, as long as the Carter Administration feels that the U.S. has some continuing responsibility for carrying out what Nixon started. Hence the dilemma.

When another *New York Times* correspondent queried the White House, he received a guarded reply. The Carter Administration, while believing that "normalization" is in the interests of the Chinese and American peoples and contributes to the relaxation of tensions in Asia and the world, is trying to find a solution to the complicated problem of establishing relations with Peking without at the same time destroying Taiwan.

Newsweek offers a more up-to-date report. The Carter Administration, it says, is considering several options. First is the so-called Japanese formula: the U.S. might close its embassy on Taiwan while maintaining political, economic, and cultural ties with the Nationalists. The U.S. might also allow the 1954 Defense Treaty to lapse in return for a pledge from Peking not to invade Taiwan. The *Newsweek* report added, without elaboration, that

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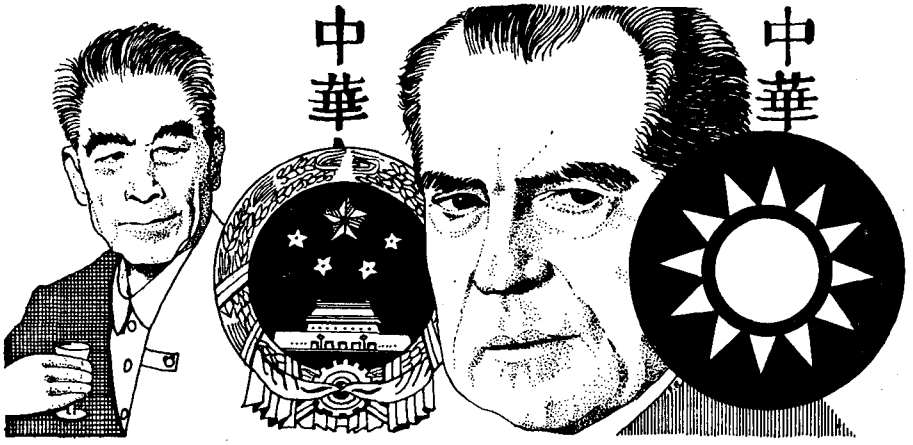

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BOILER LIK

Volapuk in Manhattan

GEOFFREY WAGNER

In 1896 an aide to the mayor of New York City wrote: "In some districts one scarcely hears a word of English spoken; where the mode of living is repugnant to every American idea. The best interests of the city demand that children of such a population be brought under American influences and instruction."

Eheu fugaces, indeed. "American" influences in Manhattan? Your friendly supermarket checker, an ex-Yugoslav, exchanges the time of day with an ex-Brazilian stock boy who speaks black English got from the Shirelles. It is not unlike World Cup Tennis, wherein Nastase, a Rumanian, speaks Italian with Vilas, an Argentinian. In upper, as well as lower, Manhattan these days the basic lingua franca is no longer English, or even *echt* American. This tongue is now effete and contaminated, an agent of colonialism to be despised in high schools (though used, it seems, by Richard Wright, Alex Haley, and James Baldwin). Would-be New York City teachers had better have some Spanish, or else. New York State certification requires aspiring teachers to take: 1) a black literature course (being increasingly deserted by blacks themselves); 2) a Puerto Rican literature course; 3) a sort of, you know, course in Phys Ed, which is actually designed to help you spot the junkies in your class. ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers get at least $5,000 more a year.

GOMBALAJ MI KAM HIJE JU HO HOM

The main thing for those of us who merely live in this world is to get by. And it isn't always easy. The DC-10 that crashed in France in 1974, the worst aviation disaster to its date, did so because a loader could not read the instructions about closing the hatch. Last year's spectacular North Sea oil blowout happened because someone evidently mistook top for bottom during installation of the main pipe. More of us are checking to see that our doctors got their degrees before 1970. It may be necessary to talk to them some day.

In 1974 the Conference on College Composition and Communication (acronymed in the trade as the 4Cs rather than the 3Rs) voted "to uphold the right of students to their own language." An essay just handed in to me by a student of 19, who has graduated from high school and been passed through two writing courses at City College, began: "People should stop using words words that are only words and nothing else, they should fulfill us with action, and events that can be of the humans being fulfillness." It ended: "If anyone can present a good fulfill explanation, then words are fulfill." I agreed. I upheld the right of students to their own language and gave the paper an F.

Not long ago the University of California at Berkeley failed almost half the freshpeople taking an English composition examination. At City College a proficiency examination in the writing of English, consisting of two essays, must be passed by all students before graduating. Despite the fact that no student is failed for (what are presumably taken to be) spelling errors, over half the students taking this examination a year ago failed.

In any case, the test was given a trifle warily. The previous term a group of furious students had disrupted an equivalent test at Brooklyn College, on the grounds that it was racist. Ridiculous to make us pass English, they claimed, as they tore up blue books and trashed chairs. A more general test, to be given after two years in CUNY, is now being vehemently opposed by like-thinking student groups—unfair to those whose English isn't up to snuff. In this case the students have a point; each has a grade average which ought to indicate such proficiency. By instituting this two-year test, the Board of Higher Education is saying, in effect, that the faculty is shirking; that it is doing too much upholding of that right of students to their own language.

What this language is becomes our problem. Edward Hall, a former headmaster of the Hill School in Pennsylvania, now teaching in Gaborone, Botswana, claims that his 15-year-old African students "write better and with more ease" in English than many 17-year-old Americans—although English is their second language. I get letters about once a month from a 14-year-old boy I have befriended in a small Caribbean island. He walks two miles to school barefoot every day and at night sleeps on the floor of the family hut. The school is overcrowded yet disciplined, and, while his vocabulary is still limited, he rarely makes mistakes of grammar or spelling.

Reproduced below is a note recently left by a New York City janitor on an apartment door; he is an American citizen. It comes out: Boiler is leaking, no hot water, no heat. The possibly ex-Greek *x* for *h* in *hot* has been corrected in *heat*. This is frenetic phonetics—I once saw a sign advertising HAT DOC at a fast-food joint in Mexico.

Our super's next note (left) gets tougher. Ignoring the first line, the message says: We came here, you not home. If any reader can solve the first word, he has my heartfelt respect as well as sympathy. As Horatio put it, after Hamlet's teasing of Osric, "Is't not possible to understand in another tongue?" □

BOLER LIK
HO XAT ORA
H° HIT

Mr. Wagner's latest book is The End of Education.

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WRONG DIRECTION

That Humphrey-Hawkins won't do what its sponsors promise is a small matter. What it will do is expand the pork barrel; it will create more inflation; and it will take the U.S. one more step in the direction of national planning

What Humphrey-Hawkins Won't Do

YALE BROZEN

THE MUCH REVISED Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act (HR-50 and S-50) provides that the President must include in his annual Economic Report:

1. Current and future economic trends in the U.S.;
2. Five-year numerical goals for employment, production, real income, productivity, and balanced growth;
3. Programs to achieve "reasonable" price stability.

These, plus an annual monetary policy statement from the Federal Reserve, are the only specific actions mandated by the bill.

Title I declares that Humphrey-Hawkins' goal is to fulfill "the right of all Americans able, willing, and seeking to work to full opportunities for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation." Now, no one quarrels with this goal. And that is *why* the bill should be opposed: because it starts us on a road that leads in the opposite direction.

Dangerous Relationship

The bill sets an interim goal of 3 per cent adult unemployment, and 4 per cent total unemployment; these numerical goals are ridiculous. The required statement from the Federal Reserve on monetary policy and the relationship of that policy to the short-term goals in the President's Economic Report are dangerous. And the numerical goals to be set in the Economic Report itself are potentially lethal.

I think the unemployment goals are ridiculous for two sets of reasons. The first set derives from the fact that Congress does not mean to do what is truly required to meet them. If Congress were serious about unemployment, it would not be enacting another law. Instead, it would *repeal* some laws.

First, it would repeal the minimum-wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. That in itself would, within two years, halve the unemployment rate among minority teenagers, which now stands at almost 40 per cent.

Second, it would repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires proportional minority hiring. That Act inflates the cost of federal and federally assisted construction projects by 10 to 15 per cent. Also, it indirectly inflates the cost of private construction by about 5 per cent. Repeal of Davis-Bacon would eliminate the $5-billion drain that is currently placed on capital markets in order to finance the excessive portion of the cost of federal projects. The new availability of this $5 billion in the capital market would directly create an additional 250,000 jobs in private-sector capital-formation industries (e.g., the machinery and construction industries).

Current rates of purchase of plant, equipment, and homes are about $20 billion below what would normally be expected at the end of a third year of recovery from a cyclical low. Normally, we would be at a rate of capital formation 10 per cent above the previous peak (fourth quarter of 1973). Instead, we are 2 per cent below that peak. The reason for this is the unprecedented behavior of the Federal Government. It is running a bigger deficit in this third year of recovery ($60 billion) than it did in the second year ($45 billion). Normally, the deficit should by now be vanishing, and the capital that had been absorbed by the deficit should be becoming available for private capital formation. Instead, the rising deficit has forced up interest rates, and funds are being drained from the financial markets that otherwise would go into capital-goods industries. Repealing Davis-Bacon isn't the whole answer, of course, but that one action alone would cut the drain by $5 billion—*without* any reduction of federal activity!

A Goal Already Met

Third, if Congress were really interested in reducing the unemployment rate, it would mandate the enforcement of eligibility standards for receiving unemployment compensation. That one action would reduce the unemployment rate by one to 1.5 percentage points, bringing it down to 5 per cent.

The second set of reasons that make a 4 per cent unemployment goal ridiculous is that the reported unemployment rate is partly fictitious and partly a consequence of changes in demographics. The fictitious portion is contributed by the relatively new job registration requirements for people receiving food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Under

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these requirements, all able-bodied persons between the ages of 18 and 65 in families receiving such aid must register for employment in order to continue their eligibility. Ninety per cent of these compulsory registrants never take a job or enter a training program. This contrasts with the normal experience of unemployed persons, who generally find a job within eight to ten weeks after starting to look for one. These compulsory registrants have, within the past few years, added up to 2 percentage points to the reported unemployment rate. If there were no compulsory registration requirements, the current reported unemployment rate would be at a level which today would be regarded as showing full employment.

More Unemployment

The current full-employment unemployment rate, removing the fictional element, is approximately 4.9 per cent. The full-employment unemployment rate in 1960 was 4 per cent. The difference between those two figures is where the changes in demographics come in. A higher proportion of jobseekers today are new entrants or reentrants into the labor force than was the case in 1960. Those newly entering or re-entering the labor force take more time searching for a desirable job and receive more job offers before finally selecting one than people who have voluntarily quit or who have been permanently laid off. There is always some unemployment in a full-employment economy in America, because each year about one-fifth to one-quarter of all workers voluntarily quit to search for better jobs. On the average, they take six to eight weeks between jobs. That in itself creates an average unemployment rate of 3 per cent at full-employment levels. Add in workers who prefer to take seasonal employment and then report themselves as unemployed in the off-season so as to collect unemployment compensation; workers permanently laid off who take time to choose among alternative jobs; and the new entrants and re-entrants —and we have a full-employment unemployment rate of 4.9 per cent. That is why a 4 per cent target is ridiculous. Such an imprudent goal will only give Congress and the Administration an excuse to add more government employment programs and to fund more useless public projects such as the water projects which President Carter tried, and failed, to kill last year.

Humphrey-Hawkins' provision that the Federal Reserve must issue an annual statement on monetary policy and on the relationship of that policy to the goals in the President's Economic Report is exceedingly dangerous. It perpetuates the fiction—enshrined in the Phillips Curve, which has been totally discredited by modern economic research—that unemployment can be cured by creating a little more money and a little more inflation. In fact, the result will be a lot more inflation and probably more, not less, unemployment.

The Camel's Nose

Finally, the addition of five-year numerical goals to the Economic Report is potentially lethal. It is another step down the road to national planning. Why we should take such a step when five-year plans have earned such ill repute in other countries surpasses all understanding. Even the Russians have, semantically at least, abandoned five-year planning: they have shifted to six-year plans in the hope that this will wipe the egg off their faces.

The trouble with five-year plans is that people, or at least politicians and bureaucrats, will come to believe that they should try to make them come true. What little planning the government has done for some industries has already led to several disasters. For years, the government set goals for agricultural output, applied various controls to try to make these goals come true—and was constantly surprised by what actually happened. It applied indicative planning in tin and aluminum and then tried to make its indications come true by supplying financing subsidies, special tax breaks, and stand-by purchase contracts. We ended with a glut of tin-smelter and aluminum capacity. Our government, alarmed by a potential shortage of helium, again applied indicative planning. It signed purchase contracts for helium on the basis of its projections. Now it has more helium on its hands than anyone knows what to do with and has been trying to wriggle out of its contracts for years.

Indicative planning or the setting of goals is the camel's nose under the tent. It has created havoc nearly every time we have done it. It's easy to bet the taxpayer's shirt on some presumed national need. But why not let the people who are betting their own shirts do the planning? Their mistakes are self-limiting, and their vision is more realistic. □

"Report to your parole board on schedule, stay away from the wrong people, and no more television!"

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Papal End Game

Out of This World

MALACHI B. MARTIN

SOME FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, Cardinal John Baptist Montini was unanimously elected as Pope Paul VI in Conclave 81. Now, as the preparations go forward for Conclave 82, at which his successor must be elected, it is clear that Paul will leave a legacy of deep division to his Church members, and of sharp crisis to the 115 cardinal-electors caught in the end game of his papal policy.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Paul has struck two notes that outsiders could only see as contradictory. Under certain doctrinal headings—contraception, abortion, papal infallibility, ordination of women—he took the traditional, hard-line, right-wing stance of all his predecessors: no change. But in the day-to-day administration of Church government and finances, and in international politics and diplomacy, he has supported the left wing, harassed and isolated the right wing, and conducted a series of intricate negotiations with Moscow and Eastern European governments. He has thus led his Church to the point where the only logical choice open to the cardinal-electors of Conclave 82 will be a cardinal ready to arrange an accommodation with Communist politicians in the four predominantly Catholic countries of Western Europe and in the countries of Latin America. There is more than one such papal candidate among the cardinal-electors.

Meeting the Inevitable

The premise of Paul's policy from the beginning has been that Communist regimes are inevitable in those key areas, and that the future of Christianity and the survival of Church institutions are tied to the Third World and to some form of the "proletarian revolution." So, as early as 1967, he called for the development of "new democratic structures" to replace the ones within which free enterprise now operates.

Through protracted and persevering discussions, he has prepared the way for the opening of formal diplomatic relations with existing Communist regimes (a Vatican-Budapest relationship has just been announced). As a demonstration of good will to the USSR, he has allowed his cardinals, bishops, and theologians to call for a re-examination of "what is good in Marxism." He has been silent about the brutal Soviet treatment of Lithuanian and Moldavian Catholics, all but suppressed the Ukrainian Rite, put an end to Cardinal Mindszenty's trouble-making, and refused to take action against the professed Marxism of priests, nuns, bishops, and cardinals in Europe and Latin America.

His policy of rapprochement has had predictable results. One cardinal-elector, Trin of Hanoi, stated last September that, in Vietnam, "we are Marxists. We are impregnated with Leninism. And we are Catholics." Last June, the four French cardinal-electors issued a Letter about Marxism. They did not condemn Marxism, but rather insisted on the possibility of political and economic collaboration with the Communists. In recent weeks, Frantisek Tomašek, another cardinal-elector, was officially installed as Cardinal Archbishop of Prague by high Czechoslovakian government officials. In their presence, Tomasek explicitly promised the collaboration of his Church in the building of the Socialist ideal. And the present Bishop of Cuernavaca has stated more than once "the need to resort to Marxist thought in order to bring about the Kingdom of God in our times."

As doctrinal justification for such political, economic, and (in Latin American countries) sometimes military collaboration with Communists, a new formulation of Christian belief has been developed. According to the new "theology of liberation," the salvation won by Jesus and administered by his Church is nothing else but liberation from economic woes and the political domination of capitalism; the Church is the servant of this socio-political liberation (violent or otherwise), and the "true" Christ is the new social man about to "evolve" from the proletarian revolution.

This "theology of liberation," which affects every particle of Christian faith (the Eucharist, for instance, becomes here "the bread of the workers") has made it possible for many clerics and nuns in Latin America and Europe to profess Marxism openly and to work for the success of local Communist Parties. Indirectly, at least, this total transposition of traditional belief has been helped by those other theologians in Europe, like Hans Küng and Piet Schoonenberg, who have reformulated Christian tenets in terms of sociology and psychology.

Over the Edge

The present Vatican administration has taken no positive action against the "theology of liberation." On the contrary, Paul and his aides have tried to liquidate the opposing Traditionalist view put forth by French Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. By new rules of his own, Paul excluded from Conclave 82 those old-time cardinals of rightist mentality, and has tried to load the College of Electors with men of his own mind.

The cardinal-electors who will gather in Conclave 82 twenty days after Paul VI's death will have, therefore, a difficult choice. What Paul has started is impossible to ignore, or even to oppose categorically. But to play out his policy logically would surely result in the economic and military isolation of the United States and the condemnation of millions of people to a life under Marxist regimes. For, whether the Roman Church is loved or hated, its extensive influence cannot be denied. And, if once a Pope and his administration openly permit Roman Catholics to vote the Communist ticket and collaborate with Marxist-inspired movements, this will, in many countries, be all that is needed to push the already substantial Marxist vote over the edge at the polls. In that case, as Father Virgilio Levi, assistant editor of the Vatican's own newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, wrote last October, "The U.S.A. will have no right to interfere with the democratic choice of the people." □

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No Chill At Frostburg

THE HEADLINE in a recent number of *State-to-Date*, the student newspaper of Frostburg State College in Maryland, runs: "Academic Standard Lowered to 0.00." This is literally true: Frostburg State's president, Nelson Guild, has decreed (overruling the Academic Standards Committee of his institution) that even if a first-semester freshman flunks every course, still he may continue to study at that institution of higher learning. Some 35 freshmen have averages of less than D, but Frostburg will cling to these promising scholars.

Why? For the same reason that certain other colleges and universities have lowered their intellectual requirements to the vanishing-point: they want the students' fees—and, in the case of Frostburg and many other state institutions, the state appropriations, which are tied to a college's enrollment. Frostburg's high-rise dorms have to be paid for, even if some of the inmates of those dormitories can't or won't read.

The student editors of *State-to-Date* do not approve of 0.00 freshmen. "One must ponder the recent decision made by President Guild to temporarily suspend the practice of failing out first-semester freshmen with less than a D average," they write. "Indeed, this action is not one of noble stature but rather is a poorly hidden attempt at retaining the $35,000 in fees from these students. We agree the college is in financial trouble, but must question whether this problem merits keeping students who obviously do not belong or simply do not care to be in college, for financial reasons."

Of Frostburg's administrators, only the registrar, Mr. Thomas Bilger, protests against this reduction of the Academy to absurdity. The dean of students actually boasts of Frostburg's "lofty standards," and other august administrators express their conviction that the quality of mercy toward freshmen is not strained: who knows, these D– characters may turn out to be veiled underachievers of high promise.

Frostburg's professors, though most of them seem intimidated by the depressed job-market for academic dissenters, in general are not of the opinion that 0.00 freshmen are mute inglorious Miltons. One professor writes to me as follows:

"Academic standards here have been sinking to the point of the ridiculous. *Item:* First-semester freshmen in freshman English are given a bonehead course in rudimentary grammar and usage, which, if they fail to satisfy requirements in one semester, permits them to have a non-pass grade of 'CS' (continuing study).

"*Item:* At the last commencement exercise, nearly the entire graduating class graduated *cum laude*; when the honor graduates were asked to rise, it looked like the worst excesses of the French Revolution, and the lay audience of parents and townsmen burst into a roar of laughter.

"*Item:* At the beginning of the fall semester, the student newspaper published statistics, early released by the registrar's office at the suggestion of faculty, indicating that the average grade was B.

"*Item:* We do have some worthy students here, but it has been my observation that many of our brighter freshmen, after a semester or two, withdraw from the college, according to a kind of corollary of Gresham's Law.

"*Item:* The faculty is so intimidated by the surplus of higher-degreed persons available for teaching positions that it is mute. A few tenured professors speak out occasionally, but one tenured professor who used to speak out has been denied even cost-of-living raises, and now is 'going along' because he has children to rear."

The associate dean of students, my correspondent continues, has by fiat "instituted a grade-review procedure intended to pressure upward those few grades that might represent some kind of a standard." At Frostburg, grades are high; so mustn't standards be high?

But Frostburg, with some 3,500 undergraduates and abounding high-rise dormitories, now feels the financial pinch most severely. "The better way to make the whole system viable," my professor writes, "would be to stop putting up buildings . . . limit enrollments to only the literate, abolish foolish programs, and release many of the faculty from the positions in which, insofar as they have integrity, they suffer."

Such reforms will not occur at Frostburg, or elsewhere, until public discontent and financial extremity compel them. For don't you know that state colleges nowadays exist principally for two purposes: 1) to furnish employment to administrators (there are four vice presidents in the Frostburg hierarchy) and professors in a time when both are superabundant; 2) to serve as aging-vats for delayed adolescents who don't know what else to do with themselves? All right, I confess to hyperbole—but only to moderate hyperbole. How many undergraduates at Frostburg State, or Behemoth U., hanker after wisdom and virtue, the Platonic ends of learning? For that matter, how many of their professors do?

YET CHANGE—which may be for the better, since it scarcely could be for the worse—may come to Frostburg and Behemoth. For the American public declines to pay more for schooling at any level; and governmental deficit-spending, as even President Carter begins to discover, produces inflation of the dollar so dismaying that it becomes politically perilous. America's population implosion, already reducing school enrollments, will hit the colleges harder with every term that passes. Even the American public, which long mistook formal education—or, at least, degree-conferring—for terrestrial salvation, is ceasing to tolerate 0.00 achievement at public expense.

When the bough breaks, the cradle will fall—and down will come presidents, recruiters, and all. Then perhaps the campus, or what remains of its echoing "learning centers," may be abandoned to those young persons who actually desire some nurturing of mind and conscience. □

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Love Story

The Romance of American Communism
By Vivian Gornick
Basic, 216 pp., $10

JOHN W. DIGGINS

Vivian Gornick's book is all Jewish heart: personal, humane, sensitive, often agonizing, occasionally humorous—above all, honest. The self-righteously myopic fellow-traveling celebrity wins no place in her gallery of American reds and pinks. Miss Gornick can face a political truth no matter how much pain it may bring to those close to her. After Khrushchev's "Crimes of Stalin" report in 1956, when thirty thousand members resigned from the CPUSA and left it a political skeleton in American life, the Gornick family was never the same again. Night after night the Gornick women quarreled violently:

> "Lies!" I screamed at my aunt. "Lies and treachery and murder. A maniac has been sitting there in Moscow! A maniac has been sitting there in the name of socialism. In the name of *socialism*! And all of you—all these years —have undone yourselves over and over again in the service of this maniac. Millions of Russians have been destroyed! Millions of Communists have betrayed themselves and each other!"
>
> "A Red-baiter!" my aunt yelled back. "A lousy little Red-baiter you've become! Louie Gornick must be turning over in his grave, that his daughter has become a Red-baiter!"
>
> And we stared at each other, each of us trapped in her own anguish. I, in the grip of pain and fury that I can feel to this day (waking suddenly in the night now, twenty years later, having just read or heard of some new report of inhumanity from the Soviet Union, I often find myself very nearly saying out loud: "All this done in the name of socialism. In the *name* of socialism"), and she, my aunt, her strong peasant face ashen with grief and survival, the world inside her and all around her dissolving in a horror of confusion too great to bear, too annihilating to take in.

Born in 1936, Miss Gornick was twenty at the time of Khrushchev's revelations. She had been a member of the Communist Labor Youth League in the early Fifties; doubtless the presence of her hard-working father, uncle, and other relatives in the garment union had influenced her impressions of Communism and misled her to see in the CP the possibility of realizing all the humane and life-enhancing ideals they represented. But the more passionate the belief, the greater the disillusionment—one recalls the late Will Herberg's existential despair—when the radiance of an idea has been betrayed by the realities of history, when solidarity with the working class is transmuted into an all-devouring identification with the Communist Party. To know the inner experience of Communism, "an intensity of illumination that tore at the soul," was to "know a kind of exaltation and dread that can be understood only, perhaps, by those who loved deeply and suffered the crippling loss of that love."

Employing the currently popular technique of oral history, Miss Gornick interviewed an unspecified number of former Communists, generally between the ages of 48 and 75. These included apolitical ex-Communists, militant anti-Communists, a few who still vaguely identify with Communism, and some youths from the Sixties who briefly flirted with the CP, regarding it as a more dedicated and disciplined alternative to anything that the New Left had to offer.

American Communists came from all walks of life, from every corner of the nation, from diverse ethnic, class, and religious backgrounds (though Jews appear predominant). As personalities they are also a curiously mixed bunch, from romantic revolutionaries to union organizers, from conscience-stricken Christians to conscienceless *apparatchiks*, from sensual, beautiful women to awkward, uptight men. Almost all those interviewed regarded their childhood experience as crucial, whether they came to Communism through emulating the socialist ideals of their parents, or through rebelling against the boredom and hypocrisy of bourgeois family life.

Not one, not even the most extreme anti-Communist, completely regretted having given some of the best years of his life to a movement that became a nightmare of betrayals and self-deceptions. Nor could they bring themselves to contemplate that things might have been otherwise, had different judgments and actions been taken at crucial moments in history—especially during and after World War II, when ex-Trotskyist Max Eastman tried to publicize the existence of the Gulag camps and ex-Trotskyist James Burnham tried to explain the bureaucratic tyranny of Russia's "classless" society. And, inevitably, when they broke with the Party (some in 1948, with the Czech coup; others in 1956, with the Hungarian revolt; still others in 1968, with the Soviet invasion of Prague), that was for

John W. Diggins *is the author of* Up from Communism. . . . **John Lukacs'** *most recent book is* 1945: Year Zero. . . . **Mitchell S. Ross***'s first book was* The Literary Politicians.

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each of them the exact and proper moment to resign.

Perhaps Miss Gornick felt it wise to refrain from raising delicate questions about individual responsibility, and indeed at times she seems to want to bear the whole burden of guilt herself (among her heroes are Ignazio Silone and John Dos Passos). Yet all historical judgments depend, as Isaiah Berlin reminds us, on evaluating what did happen in the context of what could have happened; and even if American Communists could not have prevented what took place in Eastern Europe, they may be judged in light of what they believed was taking place. Dwight Macdonald used to say that every Communist would have his rendezvous with Kronstadt—would have to face his time's equivalent of Lenin's brutal suppression of the Russian anarchists. And those of us chronologically fortunate enough not to have been caught up in the illusions of the Thirties can at least appreciate that Stalin made one thing absolutely clear: hell is truth seen too late.

Miss Gornick depicts American Communism as a compelling emotional experience, indeed an almost religious epiphany, that spoke with "such power and moral imagination" that it led its followers to a "comradeship that makes swell in men and women the deepest sense of their own humanness, allowing them to love themselves through the act of loving each other." One cannot deny this sense of inner transformation, the spiritual theme that also runs through parts of *The God That Failed*, and to which the career of Whittaker Chambers bears witness. Yet such descriptions tend to substitute the ethos of private emotions for the ethic of public obligations. It is hard to imagine how love for others may generate love for oneself when every argument over the kitchen table returns to a single standard: "Is it good for the workers?" Although Miss Gornick does not explain how the interests of labor will automatically coincide with the interests of the larger society (just as General Motors has difficulty convincing citizens that high profit margins for it are "what's good for America"), she does not hide certain facts that make one wonder about the altruistic mystique of "comradeship." Scores of CP members falsely informed on one another, presided over one another's trials, and voted to expel their own friends from the Party. Yet not one person interviewed acknowledged taking part in such unlovely activities.

Even more serious is the self-indulgent manner in which Communists evaluate their life histories. Almost invariably they judge their experience in terms of the "structure" and "meaning" the Party gave to their otherwise empty, lonely existence—an "irreplaceable context," said one, that enabled him to bring "order" to his life and commit himself to an overriding purpose. Another, a Boston medical doctor who has recently undergone analysis, recalls that "psychological insight was to me in adulthood what Marxism was in childhood." Concerned primarily with what Communism did for them personally, few ex-Communists seem interested in appraising, in broader historical terms, the CP, the philosophy of Marxism, or even their own lives as radical activists. This almost narcissistic preoccupation with the self makes all the more curious the ex-Communists' universal repudiation of the New Left as a movement without discipline, hierarchy, or serious ideology. One suspects that what was the New Left's anti-Stalinism (spelled out in the 1962 "Port Huron Statement") that the remaining true believers of the Old Left found repugnant.

A few ex-Communists do manage to transcend the therapeutic and attempt a final political judgment; and the student of history can only feel a certain sadness at the illusions of the ignorant. "Can you conceive of socialism coming to three-quarters of the world and not to America?" Miss Gornick was asked. "It's ridiculous. This country *is* the greatest country in the world. No history of feudalism, no adoration of the state, a fluidity of society unknown anywhere else in the modern world. I love it. I love it better than the people who put me in jail. I shun Europe. Europe is dead, finished, the past. But here in America there is hope, openness, a future still." One wonders where this red-blooded patriotism was in the Thirties when "American exceptionalism" was widely debated. That America skipped the feudal stage of history, experienced no oppressive cen-

RANDOM NOTES

■ More April Titles: Philip B. Kurland's *Watergate and the Constitution* (University of Chicago, $12.50) is a series of essays the burden of which is that Watergate was the outcome of the slow and steady growth of concentrated government power. . . . Walt W. Rostow's *The World Economy: History and Prospect* (University of Texas, $34.50) is, in the words of the author, "Both an essay in history and a challenge to the conventional neoclassical and neo-Keynesian economic theory." . . . Marvin Barrett, in *Rich News, Poor News* (Crowell, $7.95), a work sponsored by the Alfred I. DuPont Columbia University Survey of Broadcasting Journalism, assesses television in 1976-77 and discovers that news coverage continues to slide more and more into sheer entertainment.

■ Some May Titles: *The Gulag Archipelago V-VII* (Harper, $16.95) is the last volume of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's great work. . . . Alfred Kazin's *New York Jew* (Knopf, $10.95) is the second volume of the literary critic's autobiography, o which the first was *Walker in the City* . . . Malcolm Cowley's —*And I Worked a the Writer's Trade: Chapters of Literar History 1918-1978* (Viking, $12.50) is collection of his essays written over th past twenty years. . . . John Gruen i publishing *Menotti: A Biography* (Mac millan, $14.95). . . . Ethel Merman, on of the great performers of our time, wh managed to elevate sheer animal vulgarit to the level of the great humanities, ha written her own biography, *Merman* (S mon & Schuster, $9.95), with the help c Mr. George Eells. She was not, like Perl Mesta, born on "a thousand acres c Oklahoma land," but she was born wit something better than oil.

■ Reprint Department: Peter Brac strup's *Big Story* (Anchor Press/Double day, $8.95)—in which the author de scribes how the American press wer about treating the Tet Offensive in 196 as a defeat for the U.S. troops in Vietnar when, in fact, it was a severe military se back for the North Vietnamese—has bee reduced to manageable proportions and a affordable price by the removal of a whol volume of appendices, photos, transcript

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ralized state, and enjoyed a relatively open class structure is precisely why socialism failed to penetrate the Lockean consensus. Rather than dumping on Europe and praising America, ex-Communists need to ponder the words of America's greatest non-American social critic—Alexis de Tocqueville.

Miss Gornick's book is rich with human meaning, and it goes far toward helping us understand those whose moral impulses one might sympathize with, yet whose views one knows to be profoundly wrong. The book offers a saving remnant of inspiration and humor as well as a deep sense of pathos and sorrow. There is the admirable Miriam Moran (Dorothy Healy?), still, at 64, out in the fields with the California farm workers, happily surviving in a dilapidated cottage in Los Angeles, surrounded by two thousand books and countless memories of causes good and bad. One comes across moments of dialogue worth volumes of "scholarly" analysis of the American "proletariat" and the alienation of the intellectuals from the working class—as when Joe Preisen, a street-wise labor organizer, tries in vain to explain to a bewildered college-graduate CP member that the union is controlled by "the mob." ("I used to be a Jewish Communist," quipped Preisen, now I'm a Jewish gangster.")

In one respect American Communism was a success story. Questioned about his property holdings, Sam Russell, a 69-year-old resident of Madison, Wisconsin who once wrote for the *People's World*, replied: "They say that the Communists became landlords and the Trotskyists became professors." Some also became contributors to NATIONAL REVIEW, but that is another story. □

Taking Rights Seriously
By Ronald Dworkin
Harvard University Press, 295 pp., $12

TAKING DWORKIN LIGHTLY

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

This is a badly needed book. Badly needed, that is, by George McGovern and Ramsey Clark. Professor Dworkin has tried to fashion a philosophy to vindicate a *Gestalt*. He would have us think that the knee-jerks of liberalism issue from cerebration rather than the circuitry of the liberal's nervous system.

His knee is in good shape. He favors equality, integration, cross-district racial busing, reverse discrimination, the alleged rights of accused persons and homosexuals and pornographers and Communists (but not of property owners); he thinks the Warren Court was what the Framers had, or should have had, in mind; he hates Nixon, capital punishment, and the Vietnam War; he is all for civil disobedience, conscientious objection, and freedom of speech. He wants to redeem all these commitments with principle and logic.

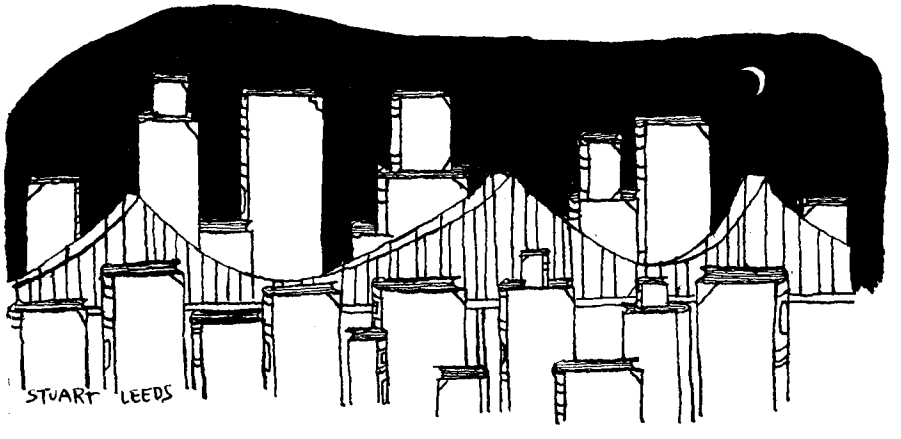
The principle of *Taking Rights Seriously* is simple; the logic is baroque. He sees all rights as deriving from one, namely the right to "equal concern and respect." He clearly does not mean that *no* concern and respect would be okay, so long as everyone were equally denied them. But he is vague about how much, what kind, for what purposes, by whom, and just plain *why* this concern-and-respect is anyone's due. He assumes (despite perfunctory distinctions) the identity of "society," "the community," and "the state," leaving unclear what kinds of entities these are. But all of them are set off, simple-mindedly, against "the individual."

It is difficult to do justice to this book in a brief review—fortunately for Dworkin. *Taking Rights Seriously* consists of essays written over a decade, most of them dealing with specific questions. A few samples are indicative.

He can favor reverse discrimination (or at least argue that it is different, from the standpoint of his "axiom," from just plain *bad* discrimination) because it is not insulting to individuals. In fact it is aimed at realizing, rather than denying, equality; it aims precisely at creating an equality that has been frustrated. As he puts it, "the right to treatment as an equal is fundamental, and the right to equal treatment, derivative." Unequal treatment ordered toward equality is okay, even if it involves racial classifications, even (one gathers, for Dworkin is, I repeat, not punctilious about such distinctions) state-imposed racial classifications.

THE DICTUM that the Constitution is color-blind, he says, "means, of course, just the opposite of what it says: it means that the Constitution is so sensitive to color that it makes any institutional racial classification invalid as a matter of law." This is nonsense, albeit complex nonsense: the dictum means that the Constitution recognizes no racial categories as affecting civil rights. It does not mean that any and all institutional racial classifications are unconstitutional. And in fact the Constitution is neutral about reverse discrimination in certain contexts, as indeed it is about racial discrimination *per se*. The Constitution is in fact neutral about a great many things, and it says so. (See, for instance, the Ninth Amendment.)

Dworkin, unfortunately, approaches the Constitution much as a fundamentalist approaches the Bible. He takes certain clauses in a pseudo-literal sense and overworks them, saying, for instance, that "the concept of an individual right to equality [is] made a constitutional right by the Equal Protection Clause [his capitals]." And he argues—or rather asserts—that the Constitution includes not only particu-



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lar prescriptions, but "moral rights" whose content is deliberately unspecified, so that judicial activism (curiously unprovided for in the text) is as necessary as legislative procedure. He misreads terms like "equal protection" and "the freedom of speech" and "cruel and unusual punishment" and seems unacquainted with, and in any case utterly indifferent to, the commentary attached to them. He has enough trouble with the bold type; why concern himself with fine print? Rights are for inflating.

Thus he supports the *Miranda* decision in principle because he takes the constitutional rights of the accused as expressing "moral principles underlying" those rights, e.g., the right of the accused to be treated "as humans rather than as opportunities," whatever that means. He even opposes locking up those who might commit more crimes if they were released on bail, since "any such prediction, if it is sound, must be based on the view that an individual is a member of a class having particular features, which class is more likely than others to commit crime. The prediction, that is, must be actuarial, like the prediction an insurance company makes about the likelihood of teenagers to have automobile accidents. But it is unjust to put someone in jail on the basis of a judgment about a class, however accurate, because that denies his claim to equal respect as an individual." Similarly, we must not pass laws against pornographers and Communists, for those so constrained "suffer [thereby] . . . because their conception of a proper or desirable form of life is despised by others." Equal respect and concern, you see.

Dworkin is actually the prisoner of a highly culture-specific conception of "the individual" as a being in an oddly isolated relation to "the community." Apparently he thinks the category "the individual" comprehends virtually the whole of personal identity, and that it is an injustice to regard any person as partly constituted by his group membership and sociological profile. The comical thing is that Dworkin's own opinions are so actuarially predictable. I can tell you with perfect confidence his opinions on a hundred matters, like abortion, on which he hasn't committed himself, either explicitly or in "principle." He ought to be arrested for impersonating a philosopher. □

Ferber: A Biography of Edna Ferber and Her Circle
By Julie Goldsmith Gilbert
Doubleday, 432 pp., $10.50

OUT OF THE ATTIC

MITCHELL S. ROSS

Occasionally a literary biography will appear that is more interesting than any of its subject's books. I imagine *Ferber* may be one of these—mainly because of the character of Ferber herself, an imperious, shrewd, and lovable woman; partly because of the skill of her great-niece, Julie Goldsmith Gilbert, who has expanded her fond memories of Aunt Edna into a full-scale portrait and has done the job with grace and charm. Miss Gilbert has worked her way backward, from the old lady who ruled the family at Sunday-night dinners at the Passy restaurant in New York, to the girl who squirmed her way out of Appleton, Wisconsin into newspaper work and almost half a century of eminence, writing short stories, novels, and plays in Chicago and New York. This method of biographical writing is eccentric (though not perverse); I would not recommend it to biographers generally, and I am not convinced of its success here. It is clear, however, that the early years interest Miss Gilbert least, and with good reason: we can collect stories of small-town, turn-of-the-century girlhood elsewhere. "Applying the phrase 'When she was four' to Edna Ferber seems puerile and a waste of time. Besides, I'm sure she was four very quickly in her eagerness to get on with it."

The biography appears at an opportune time; ten years after her death, Ferber's books are burdened with dust. I uncovered an old copy of *American Beauty* a few years ago in my grandparents' attic. I had previously been aware of the name of Edna Ferber probably through its association with the musical *Show Boat*; but I no more thought of reading her than I thought of learning to dance the Charleston. At least my grandmother could have helped me with the dance, but I would have had to sit with Ferber alone. Now I am giving the old lady a second thought, which might lead me to a first look. I am sure that there are others like me, and we have Miss Gilbert to thank.

If Ferber is nonetheless destined for oblivion, it will not be because she did not try hard enough. Her first ambition, and lifelong dream, was to be an actress, and no one ever excelled her in the role of Great Lady of Letters. Her editor at Doubleday, the courtly Ken McCormick, proved most indulgent, and cheerfully endured her outrageous behavior. Her sense of her constituency was very fine. After she moved to New York and pitched herself into the world of Theatrical Society, she composed a piece for *Liberty* magazine which was a model of its kind: "And, though now I live in the City of Sophistication, I'll never be more than an onlooker in it. First Nights, and Literary Teas, and Pomeranian Pups, and Sable Coats, and Roof Bungalows will always be things that I shall View with Alarm, mingled with a feeling of unreality. And when it comes to writing I turn back to the town with a little human awkwardness in it"—good old Chicago. Ferber knew what she was about, and fired off a letter to her sister: "I just finished and sent off my gosh-all-fishhooks piece for *Liberty*."

And yet, there were few writers whose inspiration derived more completely from the common life of the country. Miss Gilbert makes no case for her Aunt Edna as a novelist of the first rank, and in fact does not bother with any sort of literary criticism; she prefers to quote the reviewers. But she does describe the books and their backgrounds nicely. Ferber carried a reporter's notebook wherever she went and her books soaked up the folklore of various regions of the United States. This research paid off handsomely; she

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was a reliable best-seller, flavoring her reports with native sassiness and clear storytelling. She was not beneath the respect of H. L. Mencken, who wrote her concerning *The Girls*, in 1921: "May I roast in hell forevermore if it ain't an A No. 1 piece of work. . . . The people in it are absolutely alive, even the flapper. The action is so probable that it seems inevitable. And if an old man may speak out boldly, I think there is constant ingenuity and brilliancy in the writing."

She was a woman of social importance, far more influential in the immediate life of the United States than, say, Faulkner, at least before he hauled in the Nobel Prize. *Giant* started the whole state of Texas howling, and *Ice Palace* spurred the movement toward Alaskan statehood. The first volume of her autobiography, *A Peculiar Treasure*, excited the birth-control propagandist Margaret Sanger, who corresponded fervently. Ferber was a sort of unofficial feminist, asserting the superiority of women but cordially detesting the baggy characters who waved the banners and yelped the slogans. In her stories the women behaved more competently than the men. Her heroines differed from those served up by women novelists today as turtles differ from hyenas: they were sensible creatures lacking the lively curse of hysteria. No brooding over their place in the world could hold them down: the world's work required their doing. In this they bore the stamp of their spinsterly creator.

These virginal crotchets are doubtless a major reason why she is so unfashionable today. Sex has moved to center stage; the daughters and granddaughters of Ferber's readers are lost in the fantasies of Erica Jong. I have no idea if Aunt Edna will mount a comeback, but Miss Gilbert, who knows better than I, seems to hold out little hope: "Not one Ferber book is required reading in the schools, which eliminates tomorrow's people from her storytelling. Even my own contemporaries look shadowy when confronted with her name." Not a single bookstore in Manhattan stocked a Ferber novel when Miss Gilbert tried to find one.

If there is to be a revival, in fact, it will be because of Miss Gilbert. With only an occasional slip into such gauche locutions as the "birthing" of a book, or "poshery" for fancy restaurant, *Ferber* rises above the common run of biographies, detailing not only its crabby heroine, but the lively circles in which she traveled. The names of such notables as Richard Rodgers, Moss Hart, Noël Coward, George S. Kaufman, and Alexander Woollcott pop up frequently here; if they, like Ferber, are not among the greatest figures of the twentieth century, they are still better remembered than forgotten. □

TRAVEL

SLOUCHING TOWARD BYZANTIUM

JOHN LUKACS

"The people of Greece," said one of Saki's characters, *circa* 1912, "unfortunately make more history than they can consume locally." Save perhaps for the Cypriots this may no longer be true. All of its recent political vicissitudes notwithstanding, Greece is one of the most stable countries in Europe. The Greeks are intelligent, quick-witted, not given to despair; and, with a steady eye on tourist income, they make all the history—all kinds of history—that can be locally consumed. On the most barren and empty islands, one is aware of the presence of a hardy and intelligent people. But, then, in Greece the landscape and the people are inseparable. Without the people the landscape would be somehow meaningless. Unlike the United States, Greece is humanly old and geologically young. It is very different from the Grand Canyon.

With this in mind, I find it fascinating how the relatively short-lived era of European bourgeois civilization affected the Greeks. During the twentieth century, Athens, like Madrid or Marseilles, has become a modern city, large portions of which are now comfortable, as well as hideous. Athens, which fifty years ago was a southern Balkan capital of 200,000 inhabitants, has grown together with neighboring Piraeus until, now, they form a swelling and smog-ridden conurbation of nearly five million people, choked with automobiles, of course.

Oddly enough, World War I—of which Greece remained on the fringes—seems to have affected her more profoundly than World War II, when the Greeks were in the middle of it: invaded, occupied, bombed, left vulnerable to the horrible civil war that followed. The street names of downtown Athens echo the Francophile alliances of World War I. The French-style boutiques; the Parisian bars of the great hotels; the beautifully dressed children of the richer Greeks, with their English nannies or at least *au-pair* girls; the suits of the men of the upper classes, cut in London clubland fashion—it all breathes the surviving strength of the social and cultural aspirations of the European bourgeois era. (When a Greek took the Orient Express to Venice or Trieste fifty years ago, he would say that he was going to "Europe.")

And even on the small islands there are the older bourgeois survivals, the statues of civic leaders, men of the Trikoupis generation, with their tight-fitting morning-coats, their sideburns and enormous moustaches and large beady eyes carved into stone. They are more than the remnants of the past. They represent respectability, family, civic repute: matters that remain dear to the hearts of all Greeks, for they are a democratic people—their entire aristocracy consists of a few patrician clans—and they know that with luck, perseverance, and a few connections, anyone can strike it rich. American and English intellectuals, contemptuous of what they (often mistakenly) take for the bourgeois in their own countries, repair to Greece where they decide to be charmed by a laughing, virile, voluble olive-skinned Mediterranean people, a breed of colorful and artistic peasants and fishermen: what a pity that they are not artifacts, to be brought home for conversation pieces, to be displayed in New Hope or Cape Ann or Kensington, together with Mexican pottery and home-woven rugs. If they only knew how profound are the attractions of bourgeois standards of status and comfort for the Greeks, for all Greeks!

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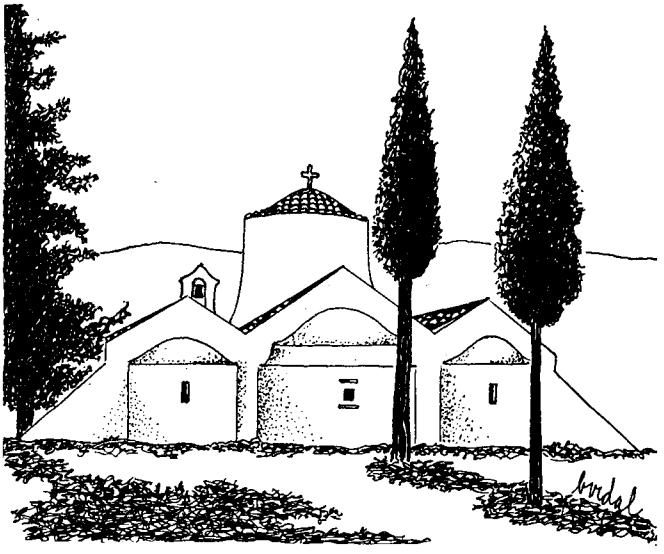
I see no danger of Communism in Greece; the Russians are another story. Communism had a certain appeal to many Greeks decades ago, when the Russians were a mysterious entity, far away. But now the Russian presence is palpable in Greece, a kind of monumental influence, for the first time in long centuries. Who ever heard of a Russian cruise-ship as recently as ten or fifteen years ago? Now they are here: large white ships, with their stubby and streamlined funnels, they disgorge their passengers (who come from all over Europe) in ports such as Mykonos, Piraeus, Patras, where American and British and French ships are no longer in sight. On the islands, most of the taxis are Russian-made Volgas. They look like 1956 Checker cabs, and they ride like trucks on the graveled mountain roads: the Russians must have offered them cheap. We saw but one American warship, a slightly rusty old Navy tender, riding the swells in the Piraeus roads. Thirty years ago the American Government made the right decision in helping the Greeks and defeating the Communist guerrillas; but should Greece, and Turkey, have been made members of the *North Atlantic* (!) Treaty Organization thereafter? I think not. And now many things have shifted, and the Greeks have come to terms with the Russians. For they are realists: when they see the future, they work it.

I had a sense, in Greece, of a great lurch toward Byzantium, of a return to a Levantine civilization: a sense that the fortunes of the peoples who live in the Eastern Mediterranean were rising for the first time in more than one thousand years. Fifty years ago these countries seemed the fag-end of a decayed Levant, hopelessly corrupt, backward, out-at-the-elbow, unclean. Just think of the career of someone like Michael Arlen, a talented Armenian who desperately wanted to become an Englishman in every possible way, hoping that not only he but others would forget where he had come from and why. Now these people are rising, full of energy and hope beyond the tired-out dreams of the peoples of the West.

The Greeks themselves have been transformed. Just fifty years ago one million Greeks were thrown out of Asia Minor by the barbarous Turkish troops of the nationalist Kemal. They camped in the dusty streets of Athens, for awhile even in the gardens of the royal palace. Their richer, and selfish, compatriots were horrified by their presence. Yet they were quickly absorbed into the bloodstream of the modern Greek nation.

Among other things, these Greek refugees from Turkey brought with them the wailing, Oriental bouzouki music, entirely Anatolian in origin and sound, which has since become a Greek national trademark. I find it wholly repellent, especially since the Greeks are possessed by a national mania for noise, and thus bouzouki is blaring everywhere—but then, after all is said



(or, rather, heard), bouzouki is hardly worse than rock. It is ubiquitous and democratic and it has become the truly popular and national expression of this dynamic people. It was not by accident that the most legendary millionaire of the last thirty years was Onassis, a Greek boy-refugee from Anatolia, and that Greek shipowners are among the richest people in the world today —along with the new millionaires from Jordan and Lebanon and Turkey and Arabia. A certain breed of men are on the rise now, because of their talents which are ancient and their aspirations which are modern. Their coruscating abilities are sufficient unto the day. Something is involved here that is far more deep-rooted and, quite possibly, far more enduring than oil money.

On some Greek islands with no more than three thousand inhabitants, there are over three hundred whitewashed churches and chapels. They were abandoned long ago; but some of them are newly refurbished, and most of them are opened at least once a year, when a great popular procession and festival marks the day of the saint after which they were named. One often sees the handsome, hirsute, sleek Orthodox priests going through the streets. There is something stylized in their walk—the way they all roll and bowl along in their cloaks—just as all cowboys in American Westerns ride alike, or all baseball players chew gum and lope to the plate alike. These priests are unsmiling—none of that grin of the curate in the parking lot. They may well know that they are indispensable. They are the representatives of an ancient civilization that seems to be getting closer to the surface now.

Greek seamen tell me that when their ships put in to the Soviet ports of the eastern Black Sea, they find a primitive Levantine capitalism flourishing there again. Their Georgian friends show them their villas, with their modern appliances smuggled in from abroad, and their marble floors chiseled (in both senses of the word) locally. They like to trade in old gold, they collect and sell ikons, and some of the harbormasters can be bribed with cartons of cigarettes. These port towns are full of cars. An amazing number of people there understand Greek. It is very much unlike the rest of the Soviet Union.

Toward the end of an age, as toward the end of a lifetime, certain very old things reappear again. A civilization in its last stages of decay shows symptoms of primitivism—of infantilism—that reappear from within. This seems to be happening in the Americas today, in places like Mexico as well as in parts of our own United States. And it may be what is happening in the Mediterranean—for the first time in centuries the southern shore has reverted to the peoples of Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean is becoming

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combination of West and East again. Athens grows and flourishes while London and New York decay. Eliot as well as Yeats may have mixed things up. The slouching is toward Byzantium.

Russia may be in the ascendant, but Brezhnev had better not take too much comfort from this. There is a sunbelt rising across the Eastern Mediterranean, probably no less corrupt than our American sunbelt, but it may transform a goodly portion of the world beyond its immediate horizons. At a time when the ambitions and pride of the French or the Germans are unsure, the peoples of the eastern edge of the continent may become the best Europeans yet. The Levantine fermentation has already affected parts of the Soviet Union; I believe that my children, perhaps even I, will see the emergence of ancient states such as Georgia and Armenia independent in everything but name, and perhaps even a name. Brezhnev may yet suffer the Bellman's fate:

But the principal failing occurred
in the sailing,
And the Bellman, perplexed and
distressed,
Said he had *hoped, at least, when the*
wind blew due East,
That the ship would not *travel due*
West!

There is hope for us! After everything is said, *The Hunting of the Snark* may prove truer than *Moby Dick*. □

DELECTATIONS

JACKPOT!

JIKA HAZELTON

Here are the results of the Delectations Contest (announced in the February 3 issue), which asked for answers, in fifty words or less, to these questions: 1. How do you tell right from wrong? 2. How would you decorate a tissue box? 3. What is your favorite truth? 4. How would you describe the flavor of chocolate? 5. Do you prefer regret or remorse, and why?

The High-Minded and Incorruptible (as well as inscrutable) Judges want to

thank all of you for the very large number of entries, serious or otherwise, and generally heartfelt. Answers poured in from as far away as Hawaii and Japan, California being especially well represented. (There must be a lesson in this, but what is it?) A message to Oran Palmer, philosophy instructor at the Claremont High School, who sent in a number of entries by his 14- to 18-year-old students: Bill Buckley was so impressed with the high standard of these entries that he will acknowledge them in his own way; thus I won't go into detail about them here. Contributors were about equally divided between men (several of them priests) and women. As noted in earlier contests, contributors were for the most part neat, orderly, and polite, and good typists as well.

Now to a rapid survey of the entries. In a large number of people, Question One produced a remarkable degree of soul-searching and the discovery of all sorts of moral scruples. Others, however knew right from wrong only by the words' spelling. Others again were practical, such as Felix Howland of Alpine, Texas: "If I do it, it's right. If you do it, it's wrong." Or as Brian Gallagher of New York City said: "I get my accountant to do it for me." But so many searched their minds and hearts so thoroughly that I think the problem must have bothered them long before Delectations posed the question.

Likewise for Question Five. There, regret-ers were slightly more numerous than remorse-ers. Regret-ers were generally practical and did not like pain. In the words of Joyce Saenz, of Corpus Christi, Texas: "No one ever killed himself in a fit of regret," a sentiment seconded by Dave Margolis, of Shizuoka-ken, Japan: "Regret is sorrow, remorse has a guilt annotation but not forgiveness." An answer typical of remorse-ers came from Jeanette Drury of Portsmouth, New Hampshire: "Remorse, because it signifies a feeling of compassion. One can regret being unable to accept an invitation." On the other hand, Roger Evans of Pittsburgh says: "Regret for confessed sins; remorse for unconfessed ones."

An unfortunately large number of contestants wanted to decorate tissue boxes, yielding to heaven knows what inner urge. An equally large number thought the flavor of chocolate was the opposite of vanilla's flavor; surprisingly, quite a number of people hate chocolate. But Gerald Raftery of Arlington, Vermont expressed my own feelings with: "The flavor of chocolate is that taste which was the best in the world before you discovered bourbon, brandy, and allied essences."

As to one's favorite truth, the answers were mixed, from the very serious to the flippant; I was moved by the large number of people who consider God and faith in God to be their favorite truth. The pessimists, meanwhile, showed remarkable unanimity; several of them even used the same words: "There is no such thing as a free lunch," or, "This too shall pass." Leo Fox of Columbia, South Carolina takes another view: "Engineering is the only eternal verity"—which indeed, for him, it may well be. Father Athanasius Buchholz, of Mount Angel Abbey, St. Benedict, Oregon, is a resigned man. His favorite truth: "There's no fool like an old fool, with the footnote that youth is a state of mind, not a time of life." Ah well.

Here are the winners. (For lack of space, I have numbered the answers instead of repeating the questions here; please refer back to the beginning of the article.) First prize, a Tiffany mug, goes to **Karen Sine** of Wappingers Falls, New York. Her answers:

1. Right is anything you wouldn't be embarrassed doing when surprised by God, your mother, or the Munchkins. Wrong is something that requires an explanation.

2. With loving messages to the sick: Don't sneeze on your brother. The cereal you cough in, you eat. Have gone to Bermuda; pick me up in April. Whoever swiped the enema bag, please return it; no questions asked. I'm 104° in the shade and you want *what*?

3. It's a toss-up beween a) There is

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a Supreme Being, loving, omniscient, just, merciful, omnipotent; and b) The children go to bed at eight. The first gives meaning, solace, and splendor. The second gives me time to read.

4. Sweet brown crayons and a glass of milk.

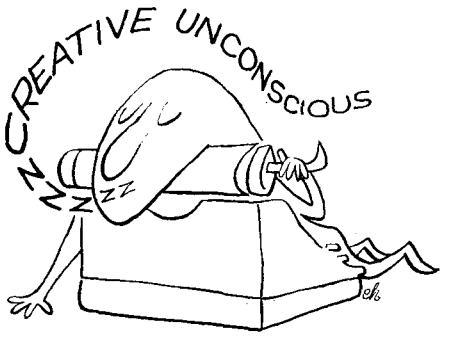
5. Regret is preferable. It is better to let tears flow out from the wounds of grief than to be eaten alive by little, blind fish in the black waters of guilt.

Second prize, a mug for each (to be used for coffee, wine, pencils, and tears), had two winners. First, **Alice V. Larson** of Winter Hill, Massachusetts. She wrote:

1. If it's tempting, it's wrong.
2. Stick aspirin tablets around the top edge of the box.
3. "If you would know the value of money, try to borrow some."—Benjamin Franklin.
4. M-m-m-malicious!
5. Remorse—because it makes one very thin.

And here is the offering of **George Aiken**—a poet—of Auburn, New York:

1. "I'll never lie to you" was wrong
   When Carter sang that political song;
   And during his political fight,
   He made you think he was on the right.
   The Marston deal proved to the throng
   Of voters who balloted not right but wrong.
2. On one end I'd put peanuts and beer
   On the other end a toast of good cheer.
   One side would carry the Capitol dome,
   While the other side a Georgia home.
   On the top a set of big teeth,
   Saying, "Tissues inside for your tears and grief."



3. Death and taxes have always been
   The truthful saying to the last amen.
4. Chocolate, that favorite dessert
   That makes the palate go berserk!
   Its dark brown nectar I'd so describe
   But for a diet I would not prescribe.
5. I prefer *regret* when trying to find
   A conservative thought in the *New York Times*;
   I'd use *remorse* toward those who boast
   About the stories in the *Washington Post*.

Third prize goes to **Jeff Deboo**, aged 17. He gets a book that fits in with his interests, namely *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Michael Grant, with an excellent text and illustrations on a melancholy theme. His entry:

1. I is never in the wrong.
2. With the Order of the Bath.
3. *Ceterum censeo Carterism esse delendam.* (With apologies to Cato.)
4. Since it is frequently seen in the company of broken-down vending machines, thrown-away paper wrappers, and grossly overweight non-gourmets, I would say that the taste of chocolate is poor.
5. Regret, because remorse is more biting. (See Webster: "**remorse**—to bite again.")

The Booby Prize goes to **Priscilla Schwab** of Washington for being a smarty lazybones. She will receive *The Making of a Cook*, by Madeleine Kamman, to get her into doing something to give pleasure to others. Her entry:

1. Choose.
2. Plainly.
3. Life.
4. Chocolate.
5. Neither.

A very special thanks and prize to **Judith Harris Block** of the Bronx, who with great neatness and very nice taste decorated a tissue box with cutouts from NATIONAL REVIEW covers. Priscilla Buckley and I will take her to lunch.

Once more, thank you all for your entries; I only wish I could quote them all. Even if you didn't win, I hope the contest sorted out your thoughts and feelings, and that you had fun with it. □

The GIMLET EYE

AMERICA STINKS—II

D. KEITH MANO

TV commercials for intimate hygiene products are self-regulated by the National Association of Broadcasters. I have their code-book in my lap. With handy three-ring binder it weighs about eight pounds, the heaviest single mass of euphemisms ever collected. Douche commercials, for instance: all flowers blossoming vaguely from the pubic area; announcers with voices so pleasant and circumlocutory I'd hire them to do a play-by-play of World War III. If you didn't know what a douche was, you might think it was some high-class Airwick for the night table. Preparation H talks confidentially about hemorrhoid relief, but never about where a hemorrhoid lives when it's at home. My elder son, who is OD-ing on TV, asked me, "Is a hemorrhoid what you get from eating too much chocolate?" I said, "Sure is." Who needs another fear at age 12? Actually hemorrhoid and douche standards are so new they don't even appear in the 1974 code-book update. But vaginal sprays, remember them?

To give you some idea of how an NAB code sounds, here are several suggestions on the care and feeding of Feminine Deodorant Commercials.

> Language such as "being a girl isn't always a blessing" and "for the little worries of being feminine, get the protection of X" would be challenged by the code authority. Similarly reference or implications to [sic] lack of confidence, not being able to face the world or being less of a woman if one does not use the product are to be avoided. The Code Authority seeks softer, more indirect language such as "Let's you feel confident." Sexual themes and connotations should be avoided. Men should not appear except in an assemblage of people in which there is no association of a particular man (e.g., boyfriend, escort, fiancé) with a particular woman. Copy referring to loving relationships, being a big girl or physically mature (in a sexual context), or language such as "I no longer sleep with dolls" or "for you are the very air he breathes" would not be accepted. Double entendres or

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visuals involving gratuitous nudity or seductive mechanisms also would be unacceptable.

Not much room for inventiveness, huh? Somewhat like playing charades in a full suit of armor. Is it bigger than a bread-box? Clank.

I talked to the account executive for a major douching product.

The feminine spray thing, we decided early on to stay out because we never thought it was going to go anywhere. But douching as a practice has gone on for 110 years. Some doctors recommend against it, some think it's good. A lot of doctors say if it makes you feel good, fine. Douching was in the closet, you found the ads in the back of the book with the bust creams. We went out and did a lot of research. The lady interviewer was afraid she'd run into trouble getting people to talk about it, but the opposite happened, they loved talking about it because nobody let them talk about it before. Nobody believed, but nobody, that it was a contraceptive, which it isn't. Women considered it was the feminine thing to do, especially on nights when you and your husband are going to have your weekly, monthly, or annual relations. But never sexually arousing. It's a mundane thing.

There was a product called Cupid's Quiver being sold out in California, where all things like this start. Four little vials of douche. One was raspberry-flavored, one was strawberry, one was lemon, and one was—ah, some other, melon or something. We scratched our heads. Is that what's going on? I thought we knew American women and basically they're clean-hearted folks. Sure they have a lot of desires, but they hide them. Cupid's Quiver was a terrible idea. All the women we talked to laughed. We had some clever thoughts like, spaghetti and meatballs, ethnic stuff, sauerbraten . . .

Our strategy was basically to bring it out of the closet, to educate women, tell them the truth and say, if you want to do it, if douching is an important part of your life, then our brand is a traditional, revered name, the appropriate chemicals go into it, thank you. We made it fresh and clean and did a very tasteful campaign. One of the competitors ran a plumber's ad. They had the figure of a woman with all those pipes going through her. They took a hard line, "Everybody's very up-front about sex," etc. Which isn't true.

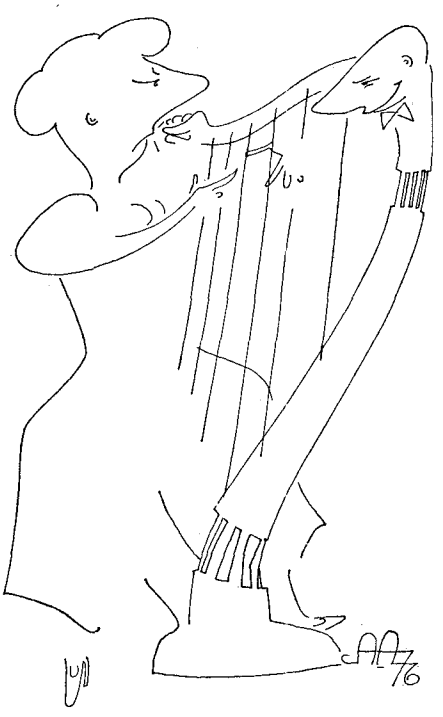
How about NAB code restrictions?

When a category is limited and everybody's working under the same limitations, you can do a very good advertising campaign without saying anything.

Jerry Della Femina, who has done for advertising what John Dean did for Watergate, says,

No matter how harsh your article is going to be, the loss of advertising would represent the loss of an important form of communication. You can probably come up with as valid a history of America by reading the ads in magazines as any other way. Is advertising changing? Yeah, we're probably not getting as many bright people. And when you consider we've had the dumbest people in the world, we may have a terrible gap ahead of us. We're an endangered people. By 1984 we may not be here.

So much for creative genius on Madison Avenue. What Madison Avenue does have is a terrific stake in the nuclear family. Women who have an



abortion don't need Pampers. People who live in communes and dig a latrine trench out back don't need Ty-D-Bol. They couldn't care less about rings around the collar. They don't want to put love in their laundry with Final Touch or love in the lunch box with Snack-Pack. Does Betty Friedan worry when her pantyhose remain sitting after she has stood up? Braless people don't dream they went anywhere in a Maidenform. When those 20- to 34-year-old married, suburban women are unmarried and unsuburban, three-quarters of our TV commercial output might just as well use a Portuguese voice-over. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

JAPAN, CHINA, AND THE MODERN WORLD ECONOMY, *by Frances V. Moulder (Cambridge University Press, 255 pp., $16.95).* This book is an attempt by a Marxist sociologist to answer an intriguing question in economic history—what accounts for the vast difference in the growth paths followed by China and Japan? One school of thought, which the author labels the "traditional society theorists," focuses upon factors largely internal to the two societies. According to this view, China did not modernize mainly because of her own political and sociological bottlenecks; Marx himself spoke of the "Asiatic mode of production" as a barrier to China's growth and development. However, the alternative view, increasingly favored by "radicals" and "revisionists" in the social sciences, is to blame underdevelopment of the "Third World" upon exploitation by the rich countries, with particular attention to the multinational corporations. This, the so-called "modern world economy" view, is at the heart of Miss Moulder's approach. According to her, the basic reason why Japan industrialized and developed while China did not is that the former managed to evade European influences and avoid exploitative trade relationships during much of the nineteenth century. Miss Moulder seems quite willing to leap to broad generalizations about present-day matters from her investigations in Chinese and Japanese history. For instance, in her preface, she asks: "Which is more 'developed' today, the People's Republic of China or Japan?" I suspect that my answer would differ from hers; and, anyway, such *ex cathedra* judgments have no place in what purports to be a scholarly monograph. She also indulges in a gratuitous smear of Brazil: ". . . Subimperialism, that is, may provide increased profits to a Brazilian national bourgeoisie and lead to increased conflict among the Brazilian state, its bourgeoisie, and the states of the metropoles without ultimately leading to independent national industrialization." What qualifies Miss Moulder to make this judgment in a book about the Far East is a bit difficult to discern. Her final paragraph, along these same lines, makes a cutting reference to the CIA. One would hope that our neo-Marxist friends are not blaming China's economic underdevelopment

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in the nineteenth century on the much-maligned CIA—that agency was not even organized until much later.

GEORGE J. VIKSNINS

A FEAST OF WORDS: *The Triumph of Edith Wharton, by Cynthia Griffin Wolff (Oxford, 453 pp., $15.95).* Professor Wolff's task is to explain the emotional realities that lay behind Edith Wharton's largely barren and unhappy though luxurious personal life and the compensating rewards of her artistic success. She does this sympathetically, almost aggressively, through sensitive observation and surmise drawn from contemporary standards of child behavior. But she is obliged to rely in the main on Mrs. Wharton's own super-discreet autobiography, so guesswork is unavoidable; and there is that familiar scrutiny of photographs which is so often substituted for hard evidence: in one photo, for example, there is "a great sadness" in young Edith's eyes. The novelist, Professor Wolff concludes, found her talent imprisoned in a brier-patch of Victorian repression, an experience which kindled a lifelong vengeful rage against the social cruelties of old New York. "Well?" Mrs. Wharton might have responded coldly, and "Well?" the reader can echo. Artistic tension has to come from somewhere, and if in this case it was her childhood background that induced her to escape from spiritual brutality through "a feast of words" (Professor Wolff's phrase), that is not so extraordinary. Professor Wolff, like Professor R. W. B. Lewis before her, fails to appreciate the period or the milieu fully, although she is more sensitive to it than he. She would have Edith Wharton play the role of artistic victim, and therefore heroine of the historic feminine ordeal. While Mrs. Wharton cared intensely for her artistic success, it was only one element, albeit the preponderant one, in her glamor: a glamor that also rested on her social and cultural (though not literary) taste, her magnificent education, her intellectual snobbery, and her aristocratic

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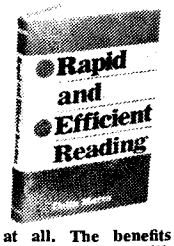

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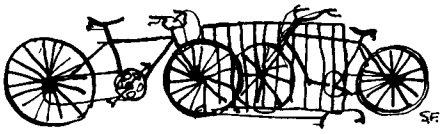

manners. These things are not easily turned up by research. *A propos,* Professor Wolff adopts the current "feminist" style of referring to Edith Wharton as plain Wharton. This is acceptable except in the passages dealing with her and her husband Edward, known as Teddy, when it becomes ludicrous; Wolff refers to the couple as "Teddy" and Wharton." Mrs. Wharton would have enjoyed telling her circle about that one.

NICHOLAS KING

THE PROFESSOR GAME, *by Richard D. Mandell (Doubleday, 274 pp., $8.95).* Anatomists of revolution mark the Old Regime's "failure of nerve" as a critical moment in the process. Professor Mandell appears here as the Voltaire of the professorial establishment, betraying his own class in its hour of ordeal. A gallery of academic rogues adorns his pages, resembling the public mythology: lushes, girl-grabbers, amiable incompetents, all of course overpaid and underworked. Whether they are ideal colleagues or new-style hard men, climbing to a deanship over the corpses of their less ruthless fellows, Mandell views them in a way that may earn him stony stares in the corridors of the University of South Carolina. Academic empires created during the Glorious Years of the 1960s now have to be defended against the corrosions of time and the legislature, or the alumni. Professors are reduced to advertising for students, giving away grades, not taking attendance. They rename their courses (U.S. History II becomes Social Change in Contemporary America) and invent jazzy new ones. Once-respectful students, now become sans-culottes, gain the upper hand. Mingling with the class enemy sexually and socially is a sign of the smashing of order. The game is up! Class is over. Mandell records all this gleefully, with many good stories. But in the end, like the libertine nobles of the Enlightenment, he does not really want to tear down the halls of pleasure and privilege. They are *so* lovely; and, after all, he lives there. Let them be converted to resorts. Let most of the professors keep their jobs, provided they give up the game . . . But it may not be so easy. The *philosophes,* someone said, wrote books the second editions of which were bound with their own skins. I hope that will not be the fate of this one, for Dick Mandell, I can testify, is a living refutation of the legends he purveys here. Why has he turned traitor? I don't know, but readers can enjoy the results. After all, a Voltaire goes far toward justifying the Revolution.

ROLAND STROMBERG

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Dark Horses

M. STANTON EVANS

DESPITE THE buffetings that it receives in the political arena, the American system of free enterprise appears to be enjoying a literary renaissance.

Witness former Treasury Secretary William Simon's instructive memoir of his service in the Ford and Nixon Administrations, *A Time for Truth*, (Reader's Digest Press, $12.50). Recounting his experience as the nation's chief financial officer, Simon provides a wealth of data about the functioning of our economy, and shows beyond all reasonable doubt that the domestic problems we hear complained of nowadays are chiefly the result of government intervention.

Simon proves his cases with numerous facts and figures concerning budgetary elephantiasis, the counterproductive effects of federal regulation, and the appalling economic ignorance of bureaucrats and political trimmers in the Congress. All phases of this discussion are trenchant and well documented, but the principal chapters in my opinion are those devoted to the energy crisis, which Simon confronted in his capacity as energy czar, and the fiscal crisis of New York City, with which he had to deal when he was at Treasury.

In all these matters, Simon makes it tolerably plain that a reduction in the role of government and increased reliance on the marketplace would be the proper solution to our ills. Professor Irving Kristol tends to agree—up to a point. As suggested by the title of his recent book, *Two Cheers for Capitalism* (Basic Books, $10), Kristol believes that capitalism has in economic terms performed quite well, far better than the usual critics would have us think, but that it has inherent limitations which make his own enthusiasm for it less than total.

Kristol is at his best when he castigates the "new class" of social regulators in Washington or when he punctures some widely held delusion of the conventional wisdom by deft deployment of economic fact. And Kristol at his best is very good indeed. His ability to come at almost any subject with original insight amply merits the acclaim he has received in recent years as the leader of the "neo-conservative" revival.

The "neo," however, is important. Kristol parts company with such defenders of free enterprise as Milton Friedman or F. A. Hayek in his occasional tweaking of the corporation and skepticism concerning the sufficiency of the market. He is much more ready than are political conservatives to countenance certain types of government intervention (e.g., national health insurance). In addition, he argues that the capitalistic system, because it offers no "national purpose" and because it encourages rapid social change, erodes the ethical foundations of its own existence.

DISAGREEING SHARPLY is Professor Donald J. Devine of the University of Maryland. In *Does Freedom Work?* (Caroline House, Ottawa, Ill. 61350; $10), this youthful conservative scholar argues that free-market capitalism not only delivers the goods in terms of higher productivity, but is more humane and ethical than alternative systems in apportioning the goods delivered. Only free enterprise, he suggests, can properly combine the values of liberty and justice—if justice is taken to mean the alleviation of want or prevention of injury to the innocent.

Most iconoclastic of all, Professor Devine contends that the forces of social and technological change unleashed by capitalism have *not* in fact eroded the moral foundations of our society. In a survey of public attitudes, Devine suggests that popular support for basic values such as religious affirmation, patriotism, belief in the family, and the like, has remained remarkably constant. Our recent acknowledged problems on all these fronts, Devine contends, exist despite our capitalistic system and not because of it. □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

P[ATRICK J.] BUCHANAN:

New York City

It is a real question whether the city which twice elected John Lindsay as mayor and thrice sent Bella Abzug to speak for it in the Congress is really prepared for self-government. (Title supplied.)

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ROBERTS

(Continued from page 526)

ment's tax loophole under the guise of tax reform, it will be confiscating assets in addition to taxing the income from the assets. People who face such a situation are likely to invest less. It is better to consume than to be expropriated. And as investment falls, the growth in real income will fall even further behind the growth in taxation. We are already 79 dollars' worth along the way to per-capita taxes' being twice as great as per-capita expenditures on the three necessities.

We have come a long way since the 1940s, when the intellectual community got terribly upset because F. A. Hayek said something about the road to serfdom. A serf was a person who did not own his own labor. Although he was not himself owned by another—that is, he could not be bought and sold like a slave—the feudal nobility, which constituted the state of that period, had rights over the serf's labor. When we say that a peasant was enserfed, we mean that he owed a certain amount of his working time to the state. Over time and regions, this obligation seems to have averaged about one-third of a serf's working life.

Worse than the Serf

The serf's position provides a perspective that lets us sum up the success of reactionary forces in this century in simple economic terms. At the turn of the century, government in the U.S. had a claim to only one-eighth of the national income. By 1976, government had a claim to 42 per cent of the national income. In relative terms, our position is worse than that of a medieval serf who owed the state only one-third of his working time.

Many may reject this parallel. They may say that we have a democratic government controlled by the people, and that high taxes and big government merely reflect the voters' demands for public goods in the public interest. Such an argument is reassuring but problematical. The income tax was voted in under one guise and retained under another. Furthermore, it was the action of a past generation. For us it is an inherited obligation, as were feudal dues, and it is seen that way by the Internal Revenue Service. All of us have been born to the statist gospels. Any clamors for tax reduction are quickly translated into proposals for tax reform, which are further transformed into proposals for securing more revenue for government. As we hear the talk about tax reform and "equity," we might pause to consider, if our cultivated progressive image will allow, that "equity" means more taxes on the productive in order to provide the revenues that build the spending constituencies of the Congress and the federal bureaucracy. What is operating is not equity, but the self-interest of government. □

KU

(Continued from page 528)

normalization may not take place until after the 1980 elections.

A few comments are in order. If these two reports contain even an element of truth, then the future status of Taiwan looks less bleak than one might have thought. The Japanese formula would obviously be much better than a total break in relations. And the proposal to extract a pledge from Peking not to invade Taiwan is definitely an improvement on Nixon's pious hope that there be "a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question."

In my opinion, the Carter Administration is approaching the problem from the right direction; but it should go further. It should insist on the German formula, whereby the U.S. would recognize two independent governments, one in Taiwan and one in Peking, and maintain diplomatic relations with both. It should try to help set up a non-aggression pact between Taiwan and Peking. If such a formal pledge could be obtained, then the U.S. could be a party to it. Such a proposed solution is vastly superior to the Japanese formula, which has many drawbacks and fits no diplomatic pattern.

My proposal will certainly meet strong opposition from both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Nonetheless, with skill, patience and perseverance, the U.S. might succeed in this unprecedented undertaking. America at present has an unusual advantage, in that Peking badly needs to establish diplomatic ties with Washington. The rulers in Peking realize that the Soviet threat to the territorial integrity and security of the Mainland is infinitely more serious than the Taiwan question.

This solution would not only contribute to the relaxation of tensions in Asia and the world, but would also assure that the 16.5 million Chinese on Taiwan can continue to live in freedom and be the custodians of China's great cultural heritage. At the same time, it would retain, for tens of millions of overseas Chinese, their spiritual home.

Some people may ask: Could this solution of the Taiwan question be permanent? It is not permanent, nor is it perfect—in the sense of satisfying everybody. In a constantly changing world, though, nothing is permanent. My proposal is frankly designed to meet a crisis. This is not the time to discuss permanent or perfect solutions. Fifty or forty years ago, no man could have absolutely predicted the existence of two Chinas. Twenty or thirty years from now, the Chinese people may be reunited and living happily under one enlightened government. But for the moment we have a crisis. We must safely cross the bridge and allow time to work out the problem. Father Time, after all, is a great alchemist. Sir Walter Scott left us these lines:

Time will rust the sharpest sword,
Time will consume the strongest cord.

□

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Good-bye Hiss

On The Right

New York, April 7—The scene is dramatically described in a recent issue of *Politicks* magazine. Allen Weinstein, a professor of history at Smith College, is answering questions put by journalist Philip Nobile, who by the way is one of the sharpest interviewers in the business. Nobile begins by explaining that Alger Hiss has had many problems in the last thirty years, but that his main problem right now is the new book by Weinstein called *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*. Briefly put, the book establishes beyond even unreasonable doubt that Alger Hiss was guilty.

The scene in question is the last of seven visits between Weinstein and Hiss. At the first visit, five years earlier, the young historian was eagerly resolved to document the innocence of Alger Hiss, to which end he secured the cooperation of Hiss, who turned over his huge defense file to Weinstein. One should add that Hiss, over the years, has become highly habituated to sycophantic journalists and historians who accept his innocence as dogma, and then scoop up whatever data are lying around and arrange them so as to confirm the previously established thesis. It is not true that all those who have proclaimed Hiss's innocence were sycophantic to the man, Alger. I. F. Stone is sycophantic not to discrete individuals, so much as to doctrines. The relevant doctrine in this case is that the United States engaged in a hysterical witchhunt after the war. Reasoning backward, everyone tripped up during that period was in fact innocent. The sustenance of the myth of Hiss's innocence comes from a Carthusian fidelity to that and cognate doctrines.

So there is Hiss, and there is the young professor who has spent five years going over not only all Hiss's defense files, but forty thousand FBI documents released under the Freedom of Information Act. That, and tracking down and interviewing, and surveying the correspondence of, dozens and dozens of persons involved in however minor a way in the great Hiss-Chambers drama; talking to Communists in Bulgaria, and ex-Communists in Israel, and coming slowly, but irrevocably, to the conclusion that: Hiss is a liar. How do you tell a man whose innocence you set out to establish that you have concluded that he is a liar? Worse, really: because such duplicity as Hiss engages in isn't designed merely to help himself. It isn't the motorist lying to the cop by saying he was driving only fifty miles per hour. Hiss's lies require that his flock come to grisly conclusions about Whittaker Chambers, and Mrs. Chambers; and about the FBI, and the prosecutor, and the courts. If Hiss were innocent, America is unjust.

"I was very nervous. Hiss is an imposing figure. He has marvelous presence, if a bit stagy. He's gracious. After some small talk, I blurted out something like, 'When I began working on this book four years ago, I thought that I would be able to demonstrate your innocence, but unfortunately, I have to tell you that I cannot; that my assumption was wrong.'

"I meant to continue, but before I could, Hiss interrupted me and said quietly, 'I'm not surprised.' I waited and he said nothing more. . . .

"My hands began trembling, and so were Hiss's. Yet I made a point of staring straight at him during this exchange. For at least a full half-hour, I tried to get eye contact with Alger Hiss, but he refused. His responses were often directed to some place beyond me. He gave me his profile for part of the time. I thought to myself, 'My God, this has happened once before!' It was, from the testimony of all observers, exactly what Hiss did in his Commodore Hotel confrontation with Whittaker Chambers. . . . When Hiss finally looked at me, he said, 'I've always known you were prejudiced against me.' . . .

"I had only a few seconds, so I said what I felt at that moment: 'I don't think you'll believe me, but I want you to know how hard this has been for me and how terrible I feel that what emerges now may cause various of your friends, whom I have gotten to know as individuals, additional suffering.' He looked at me and said, 'You really believe that this is going to make me suffer?' I said, 'No, sir, I don't think it will make you suffer, but I think it might make those who care about you suffer a bit more.'

"At that moment the elevator came. I said goodbye and offered my hand, but he stepped away and disappeared without saying goodbye or shaking hands." □

CARTER'S PRESUMPTION

New York, April 14—Concerning President Carter's apparent decision not to deploy the neutron bomb (ERW—Enhanced Radiation Warhead), a few observations:

1. Out of curiosity, just who does Mr. Carter think he is? Or—more to the point—just who do we think we are? The President of the United States is vested by the Constitution with the title of Commander-in-Chief and with the authority appropriate to the discharge of his responsibilities. But he is Commander-in-Chief subject to certain supervision. Just where the line is drawn was debated as recently as in 1973, when the Case-Church Act was passed, limiting the authority of the Commander-in-Chief to commit U.S. military forces to a certain number of days, after which the approval of Congress is required. It is implicit in all the talk surrounding the Strategic Arms Limitation conferences that the President cannot, acting alone, make strategic dispositions of grave consequence. By deciding *not* to deploy the neutron bomb, he is doing exactly that, and the question is: Are we obliged to accept the President's caprice as a *fait accompli*?

There is certainly temptation not to do so. Because there is a preponderance of expert opinion on the other side. The President's own top advisors—the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense, his assistant for national security matters—argued in favor of the ERWs. The implications of Carter's de-

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cision are enormous. It can be plausibly contended that the ERWs are the critical instrument by which the Soviet advantage in Europe could be resisted on the battlefield. Surely a decision so basic as whether to defend Europe is a decision that should be reached, in a self-governing community, more broadly than by the afflatus of a single man with the title of Commander-in-Chief?

Or, 2) is it more correct to say that Carter was influenced other than by inner meditation? If so, by whom? Ever since Joe McCarthy, it has been risky even to frame the question, but here goes: How influential was the Soviet campaign against the ERWs? Or let us put it another way. Assuming the Soviet Union had not mounted its campaign, energizing all its circuits worldwide, triggering the sympathetic detonations of the spastic Left and the pacifists, would Carter have reached the same decision? Somehow one doubts it. The countries of Western Europe, heavily influenced by Communist opinion, tossed the ball to Carter—with the noble exception of West Germany, which publicly recommended deploying the ERWs. The assumption has been that the leaders of these countries desired Carter to impose the ERWs on NATO, relieving the Western European nations of direct responsibility for affronting their indigenous Communists and fellow-travelers. Still the question remains: How critical was the influence of the Soviet Union in Carter's thinking? Most probably he has never asked himself the question, so we do him at least that favor.

3. Where do we go from here? The *Wall Street Journal*, whose editorial page is surely the most illustrious in the country, makes a proposal which is breath-catching in its sweep. There is one thing President Carter appears to want more than life itself; more, even, than his lionization by black Africa. That is: the passage of the Panama Canal treaty. It has become for him a cause militant; a sacred cause. Well, the *Wall Street Journal*, incensed by the decision over the ERWs, says: Take it away from him. Flash a signal to Carter, says the *WSJ*, before it is too late. A "loud resignation or two on the part of high military officials, for example; or, on the part of the U.S. Senate, rejection of the second treaty on the Panama Canal."

Now *that* is linkage with a vengeance. There are those of us who, analyzing the problem of Carter in the past, have gone so far as to say that if Carter delivered Taiwan to the Chinese Communists, one could then conclude that his own impulse in proposing the Panama treaties was capitulationist in nature, and that therefore resistance by the Senate, on one of those few occasions when the Senate's vote is critical, might be justified. The *Wall Street Journal* is applying such reasoning to the Panama Canal treaty falsely, in my judgment. My reasoning is as follows: the arguments in favor of the Panama Canal treaty have been so profusely ventilated, not only by Carter but by the senators who voted in favor of the first treaty, that to turn now against the treaty as a gesture of defiance of Carter is to hold hostage an innocent community—the Panamanians—in a political war of nerves being fought within the United States.

And yet pressure on Carter is important because the decision on the ERWs is critical. I propose an alternative to the draconian proposal of the *Journal*: Postpone action on the Panama treaty. Don't reject it, merely table it—for reconsideration after Carter's decision on the ERWs is final. All it would take to cause the tabling of that treaty is the vote of three senators. We all know who they are. □

DEREGULATION ARGUMENTS

New York, April 14—Those (like me) who believe in deregulating gas and oil are confronted with an argument that is more nearly sophisticated than sophistical, and therefore worth serious examination. It is this: To permit domestic owners of gas and oil to sell it at world prices is to permit them, so to speak, to participate in the wages of sin. That (the critics conclude) has very little to do with any presumptive respect for the free market.

Here is what they are talking about: The price of oil ($13.50) is being set not by free competitive exchanges between willing sellers and willing buyers, but rather by a cartel which controls a preponderance of the world's supply and which, under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, came together as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries at the end of 1973 and quadrupled the price of oil.

Meanwhile, the United States had, in 1971, set a ceiling on the price of domestic crude, having much earlier (1954) set a ceiling on the price of natural gas. The paradoxical effect of these ceilings has been to buttress the synthetically high price being charged by the OPEC states. Indeed, our imports of this exorbitantly priced oil have doubled since 1973, from 23 per cent of the fuel consumed domestically to 47 per cent. This validation of the synthetically reduced price resulted in part from a synthetically subsidized demand. If you continue to sell oil in the United States at $8 instead of $13, the consumer does not experience that privation which causes him to economize. Accordingly, the demand for oil is commensurately subsidized.

Here, by the way, is how two economists, writing in *The Public Interest*, have worked it out. For every 4 per cent rise in the price of oil, demand diminishes by 1 per cent. For every 5 per cent rise in the price of oil, supply increases by 1 per cent. Inasmuch as, under present laws, we are maintaining domestic oil at 30 per cent less than the world price, we are consuming three million barrels per day more than we would otherwise consume, and we are producing nearly two million barrels per day less than we would otherwise produce. Add these figures, and you come up with an increased import of about five million barrels per day. At $13.50, incidentally, this adds up to approximately the size of our balance-of-payments deficit for last year.

But back on the question of permitting U.S. producers to freeload on the back of the monopolists, or more properly the oligopolists. Question: Is this "right," in the sense of is this fair, just? Question: If not, what should be done about it?

Concerning the first, the so-called windfall profits are simply less important than a correct adjustment of policy. Windfall profits occur every day as a matter of course. One newspaper makes windfall profits because the competition is struck. One country producing coffee makes windfall profits because others are hit by blight. One real estate developer makes windfall profits because the legislature programs a freeway in this direction rather than that. Obviously, the public policy question should concern itself not with the profiteer, but with making right the larger situation. In this case, what we need is to increase supplies by encouraging exploration and production—that is our economic responsibility. Our political responsibility is to fight the cartel—the struggle against those who have banded together in restraint of trade for the purpose of imposing a synthetically high price upon us. Bear in mind that if the OPEC leaders were American citizens, under existing laws they would be sent to jail. As it is, our President attends their banquets and toasts their health.

How to fight the cartel? The best means is by differential, discriminatory tariff. Divide the OPEC powers into three rough categories. Category A would cover those countries the extractive price of whose oil is especially low, say $1.50 or less—Saudi Arabia is the prime example. At the other end—Category C—are those nations whose extractive price is especially high. Great Britain isn't formally a member of OPEC but is headed right in that direction, so let us use it as an example: it pays about $5 to bring up a barrel of North Sea oil. In between—from, say, about $1.50 to $4—we would have Category B exporters. Clap a tariff of $5 per barrel on Category A exporters, $3 on Category B exporters, $1 on Category C exporters. The result would be to discourage the purchase of oil from those countries whose profits from oligopoly were the most exaggerated. Such a tariff would induce competitive pricing among the OPEC states. A little of that and the cartel is broken.

What you will have accomplished is a diminished demand alongside an increased supply. The windfall profits are economically and ethically insignificant in that context. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. *Kinship*
121 58 70 7 24 78 168 203 108 141 190

B. What testimony not taken down is
29 198 90 101 148 157 174 183 206 8 17 40

C. A baseball fielding play
110 5 30 76 123 130 172

D. Having the lowest melting point possible
131 176 33 18 184 56 118 139

E. Tearful
146 55 96 102 112 142 6 36 180 185

F. Preserved fodder
149 119 9 128 44 188 72 178

G. A city in Belgium
173 10 107 45 115 88

H. A Greek historian
64 92 166 37 124 161 111 177

I. What Ian Smith would be called if he lived in Panama
1 4 15 50 69 77 81 95

J. Situated lower down
179 163 129 39 93 11 207 156

K. Material leached from one soil horizon and deposited in another
210 13 125 57 25 140 194 80

L. In an overconfident manner
21 99 135 144 154 165 189 192 205 34

M. The state of being strongly desirous of *getting* and keeping
42 23 202 169 31 66 83 2 89 46 53 75 103 106 143

N. A form of conjunctivitis
137 26 82 117 14 62 94

O. The introducing of a solution into a vein
3 38 84 20 28 65 16 214

P. Higher in stature
155 74 60 147 97 132

Q. A type of football team
162 61 151 98 113 136 196 41

R. A cruel slave driver in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
171 47 159 191 63 126

S. The lost continent
181 67 48 114 158 152 212 186

T. A wanderer
200 213 104 68 19

U. A weed that infests lawns
79 150 208 43 201 195 133 85 71

V. *Scourged*
86 204 187 153 167 120

W. A pose
170 49 116 145 160 199 87 22

X. Frustration
12 59 91 100 27 32 73 122 134 35

Y. A remnant
197 127 164 109 51 182 211

Z. A French poet and playwright (1868-1918)
52 105 193 175 138 54 209

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 546 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

			1 I	2 M		3 O	4 I		5 C	6 E	7 A	8 B	9 F	10 G	11 J	12 X	13 K	14 N	
15 I	16 O		17 B	18 D	19 T	20 O	21 L	22 W		23 M	24 A	25 K	26 N	27 X		28 O	29 B	30 C	31 M
32 X	33 D	34 L		35 X	36 E		37 H	38 O	39 J		40 B	41 Q	42 M	43 U		44 F	45 G	46 M	47 R
48 S		49 W	50 I	51 Y	52 Z	53 M		54 Z	55 E	56 D	57 K	58 A	59 X	60 P	61 Q	62 N		63 R	64 H
65 O	66 M	67 S		68 T	69 I	70 A	71 U	72 F		73 X	74 P	75 M	76 C	77 I	78 A	79 U		80 K	81 I
82 N	83 M	84 O	85 U	86 V	87 W		88 G	89 M	90 B	91 X	92 H	93 J	94 N	95 I	96 E	97 P	98 Q		99 L
100X		101B	102E	103M		104T	105Z	106M	107G		108A	109Y	110C	111H	112E	113Q	114S	115G	116W
	117N	118D	119F	120V		121A	122X	123C	124H	125K	126R		127Y	128F	129J	130C	131D	132P	
133U	134X		135L	136Q	137N	138Z	139D	140K	141A	142E		143M	144L	145W	146E	147P		148B	149F
150U	151Q	152S	153V		154L	155P	156J	157B	158S	159R	160W	161H		162Q	163J	164Y		165L	166H
167V	168A	169M	170W	171R		172C	173G	174B	175Z	176D	177H	178F		179J	180E		181S		182Y
183B	184D	185E	186S	187V	188F	189L	190A		191R	192L	193Z	194K	195U	196Q		197Y	198B		199W
200T	201U	202M	203A	204V	205L		206B	207J	208U	209Z	210K	211Y	212S	213T	2140				

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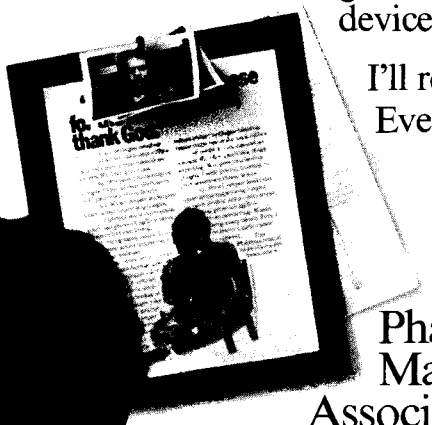

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